

ABU DHARR al-GHIFARI

**an examination of his image in
the hagiography of Islam**

by

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Dedicated to
my teacher and friend
DR. ERWIN ROSENTHAL

CONTENTS

<i>Title</i>	<i>Page</i>
Transcription	vii
Foreword	1
Introduction	4
<i>Chapter I</i>	9
Abû Dharr's Conversion	
<i>Chapter II</i>	29
An Outline of His Career up to A.H. 30	
Abû Dharr the Companion of the Prophet—Abû Dharr the Imâm, A.H. 4–7—al-Ghâbah, A.H. 6, Hunayn, A.H. 8, Tabûk, A.H. 9—The Hidden Years, A.H. 9–30—Synopsis.	
<i>Chapter III</i>	53
The Background to the Conflict Between Abû Dharr and those that were Niggardly toward God	
<i>Chapter IV</i>	65
The Conflict	
Ibn Sa'd, Zayd b. Wahb, al-Ṭabarî, Koran IX, 34–35, al-Âlûsî, al-Balâdhurî—Abû Dharr and the Faction of of 'Alî, al-Ya'qûbî, al-Mas'ûdî,—Abû Dharr v. Ka'b al-aḥbâr—Analysis—Secondary sources: E. G. Browne, Sir Wm. Muir, A. Müller, Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî, G. Zaydân.	
<i>Chapter V</i>	123
Abû Dharr's Death and Burial	

APPENDICES

Traits of Abû Dharr's Image	129
The Traditional Image of Abû Dharr in Oils	133
Abû Dharr the Traditionist	134
Traditions about Abû Dharr	149
<i>Bibliography</i> Sources Consulted for this Essay	173

TRANSCRIPTION

The following signs set out in the order of the letters of the Arabic alphabet are used to transcribe the same:

‘ b th j ḥ kh d dh r z s sh ṣ ḍ ṭ
z ‘ gh f k l m n h w y

Long vowels carry the circumflex accent thus: â î û

Diphthongs: ay aw

Well known anglicised forms are left unchanged, e.g. Mecca, Medina, Mohammed. Less well known names are transcribed, e.g. al-Rabadhah.

Abbreviations: AbḤ = Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal
Bu = al-Bukhârî
Bal = al-Balâdhurî
Dha = al-Dhahabî
I.S. = Ibn Sa‘d
Ḳas = al-Ḳastallânî
Ṭab = al-Ṭabarî
W.W. = Wâḳidî/Wellhausen
X = died

References

Numbers following page references refer to lines quoted.

FOREWORD

It is known that the Islamic biographies of Mohammed, the prophet to the Arabs, and of the great men among his companions and their successors, are not historically exact but influenced through later piety and the completely altered circumstances of the period of the traditionists. Whether, to what extent and why the biographies of the less significant of his followers undergo the same change is to be examined in this study with regard to the image of Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî, who, while he did not belong to the great men that surrounded Mohammed, represents a peculiar type, that of the non-conformist. Though it is difficult, the case of Abû Dharr is interesting because this man was later considered as both prototype and model of piety and was of considerable importance for the dogmatics of the faction of 'Alî.

Our choice fell on Abû Dharr in the spirit of Sachau, who was convinced that the progress of the origins of Islam would present a clearer image of Mohammed in proportion as we continued to gain preciser concepts of those men whom he won to his side (S. d. Ak. d. Wiss. Berlin, 1903, p. 18), because the analysis of contradictory statements made about Abû Dharr promised to be rewarding in this connection. For example, Wensinck tells us in the few lines that he devotes to Abû Dharr in his *Handbook of Muhammadan Tradition*, p. 7, that 'Uthmân exiled him to al-Rabadhah, while Robson in his outline of Abû Dharr in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* makes it clear that it is not known whether he retired or was sent thither. This discrepancy together with other problems is treated from a historical point of view in the inaugural dissertation on Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî published for the University of Cologne in 1963. But in this essay we are not limited to the sparse fragments, historical and quasi-historical, on the subject of our inquiry and are thus free to examine also those accounts that are plainly hagiographic, for instance those dealing with his conversion and burial, in the attempt to discern as much as possible of the image of a Bedouin, who after a life of obscurity distinguished himself by lifting up his voice against the secularisation of the theocracy of Islam, and who has

since been regarded as a saint. One catches a glimpse of the magnitude of this image in Martin Luther's translation of the Koran into German out of the Latin of Fr. Richard O. P. in which one reads that Mohammed himself asseverated that a certain doctrine be true in spite of anything that Abu Dharr might have to say on the matter! In this province also one finds differences of opinion that justify this study. For example, Goldziher said in his lectures delivered at Heidelberg in 1910 that Abû Dharr was one of the most prominent figures of the party of the pious during the first violent changes in Islam. Less exuberantly, however, Lammens described Abû Dharr in his work *Fâtima et les Filles de Mahomet* (p. 23) as an obscure figure that was dear to the 'Alid school of thought.

The former treatise on Abû Dharr, being intended for Arabists, assumes an acquaintance with the history of the first three caliphs. For this reason and because it is concerned mainly with the few extant historical fragments on Abû Dharr, it occupies no more than four score pages. But this essay, being intended for the student of the history of religion and phenomenology, is furnished with brief, background notes on this period and a translation of the Arabic and Persian sources.

In the former essay we fell into the Wellhausian error of considering earlier events to have been invented in the light of later reports, for we formerly held the opinion that not only the lengthy, romantic accounts of his conversion, but also the other reports that intermit the silence on the thirty years of his life as a Muslim had been invented in the light of the stature to which he attained through his preaching in the thirtieth year after the Hegira.

In this new approach to the problem of Abû Dharr we consider all the evidence, not only that which would seem to be historical, but also that which would seem to be hagiographic. We tread circumspectly here, for we have grown less confident of our ability to divide dogmatically between the historical and the hagiographic. Fiction, it would seem, is often a better vehicle of truth than factual reporting after the fashion of a VC citation. Consider for instance the story that Nathan told to David. The examination of the stories concerning Abû Dharr lends, so we think, sharpness to the outline of his image that may be seen to emerge in the first essay. In fact this scrutiny has yielded fragments containing traits which Abû Dharr reportedly had in common with other early Muslims known for their piety.

Further consideration of the report of his service in Egypt in the unit recruited exclusively from the ranks of the Supporters of the Prophet has dispelled the doubt we formerly entertained toward other accounts

of his service under Mohammed and the first caliphs and toward the accounts of his early conversion. We consider this point to be sufficiently weighty to be repeated now and again.

The collation of some ninety pages on his conflict with those that were miserly towards God shows how the story grows from a laconic utterance of a few lines into a verbose, romantic story having equally protracted and fanciful variants. Investigation of these materials leads one to the opinion that Abû Dharr's attacks on those that hoarded wealth instead of expending it in the service of God have been re-directed at 'Uthmân and his relatives by the friends of 'Alî.

We consult the exegetes of the Koran and find that they agree with Abû Dharr's catholic interpretation of surah IX, 34-35 of the Koran, from which he preached at those that withheld this world's goods from God's service. This tends to corroborate the view that his preaching had a general, rather than a particular application. A fatwa, resting on an exegete of the 19th century, namely al-Âlûsî, pronounced by the Ulema of al-Azhar against Abû Dharr's alleged diatribes against the possession of superfluous property is examined and drawn into question.

A study of the movements of the distinguished soldier al-Aḥnaf b. Qays points to a high grade of improbability in the account of his meeting Abû Dharr in Damascus about the time of the latter's alleged disputation with Mu'âwiyah.

Analysis of the accounts of Abû Dharr's alleged quarrel with Ka'b al-aḥbâr shows these to be confused and unreliable.

The fanciful accounts of Abû Dharr's death yield the fact that he died before 'Uthmân's edition of the Koran, which, accordingly, he could not have attacked.

We let the secondary sources speak. Thus we see how they all offer a confused picture based on only a part of the sum total of evidence contained in the ḥadīth literature.

Another new feature is the collection in abridged form of all the ḥadīth ascribed to him and of all the accounts concerning him. The student of religion may welcome this as a critical apparatus.

Only one page of the first essay has been used in this, namely p. 27, dealing with the account of Abû Dharr's difference of opinion with Mu'âwiyah.

INTRODUCTION

Muslim writers of history interpret and evaluate this as Heilsgeschichte. In their presentation, both interpretation and appraisal vary according to the ideals that they entertain. In such a presentation the compilation of the historical data is meant to secure little more than the chronological sequence of events. Behind the accidental milieu of these data an attempt is made to trace significance. From this point the presentation becomes an appraisal based on the ideal life of a certain type. In the process the natural characteristics of the subject of the presentation gradually recede into the background leaving his typical traits to stand forth in the foreground, clothed in flesh and blood as tangible proof. Entering into the experience of the type the writer re-shapes his materials to fit the image of the same and orders them about one or more peaks that may best serve as the goal of this ideal life. The biological course becomes the historically directed development. If the subject of the presentation should become aware of his mission during his lifetime, the possibility of self-interpretation, that is of co-ordination, conscious or unconscious of the actual to the ideal life is natural and cannot be disregarded.

But a critical student neither interprets nor appraises but tries rather to ascertain primarily the extent to which the career of a particular individual—his reaction to his environment—is psychologically understandable. He then separates from the psychologically plausible image all that is not agreeable to it and relegates this heterogeneous material to an appropriate place. This can occur only when those motives have been discerned that gave the materials a bias. Now the later development of the history of thought shows that representatives of new schools of thought in Islam avoided responsibility by ascribing their innovations to notables of *pura antiquitas* in order to quote these ancients as authorities. (This was done to Abû Dharr). It is plain that such a procedure resulted in re-interpretation, in part or in whole, of the image of such authorities, so that certain sections of materials concerning them became overgrown with details, while for other periods

of which the reverse is valid, we are dependent on intermittent, scant notes. (Such is the case of Abû Dharr).

In the examination of those accounts that speak of Abû Dharr's attitude to contemporary affairs it has to be ascertained what elements can be traced to interpretation and/or appraisal on the part of

- a) Abû Dharr himself
- b) the party of the pious, opposed to 'Uthmân's regime
- c) the supporters of 'Uthmân
- d) the faction of 'Alî

Now it is not possible to proceed with the scant information handed down concerning Abû Dharr exactly as with that contained in the biography of Mohammed, because in the case of the prophet's companions we have, apart from a few verses of contemporary writers, no documents corresponding to the Koran with which we might be able critically to examine the traditional presentation of their images. For the solution of the question just mentioned above, and others besides, there is no adequate external criterion. The only thing of which one might think in this connection would be the respective chains of authorities. But the fact that a great number of the names of these authorities are meaningless antiquities prevents us from speculation in this direction.

We have found it necessary, therefore, to examine the materials according to inner criteria, taking due note of history and geography. For instance, a detailed topographical study of al-Rabadhah with the aid of maps of the Royal Navy and the works of Alois Musil and others, and the ascertaining of the date of Abû Dharr's death there enable us to refute much that the traditionists would have us believe. But it would be naive pretence to be of the opinion that the historical image of Abû Dharr could be worked out any more than that of the Christ or of any Christian saint contemporary with Abû Dharr. In talking of Christian saints we must mention that we have scanned Migne's *Patrologia* in vain for a contemporary parallel with Abû Dharr. The only one with whom one could compare him is Moses the Robber, an Ethiopian convert to Christianity, who, having been the captain of a band of robbers, died as a priest and is now counted among the great fathers of the Church. He died about A.D. 395, cf. *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter (Leben der Heiligen Väter, translated by Dr. St. Krottenthaler, Kempten and Munich, 1912, pp. 45–48).*

Discrepancies have not been harmonised after the manner of, for instance, al-Ṭabarî, but analysed, nay rather, anatomised. Because of

the fragmentary nature of our information no continuous, well-rounded narrative is offered, but an anatomy of the materials in which attention is called to the authors of the accounts and to the schools of thought that these writers represent. These speak with many tongues. Any attempt to harmonise these would have resulted in Babel. This we have endeavoured to avoid by dissecting the body of our materials into sections. What began as an examination of the image of Abû Dharr has turned out to be, in part, an examination of the witnesses.

Much time has been spent in devising the most efficient arrangement of our materials. At first we were strongly inclined so to arrange them as to introduce the reader first of all to the peak of Abû Dharr's career, that is, to start with his alleged tirades against the misuse of public funds and the maldistribution of wealth accruing to the government through the exploits of the armies in the field, through which, in due course, he was set forth as the type of the saint militant, a contender for the righteous cause, the Amos of his day, who in Damascus girded at those that ground the faces of the poor, and then to treat all the other accounts as invention stemming from his archetypal figure, because we originally held the opinion that once the traditionists had established Abû Dharr's image, they had wherever possible insinuated his name into the lists of the earliest converts, and of those that fought the prophet's battles, or represented him as imâm during his absence from Medina on his lawful occasions, in order to make him a constant companion of the prophet, and that commensurately with the stature to which he had attained through events falling at the end of his life. The fantastic nature of the stories of his conversion and burial lent such weight to this opinion as to make one suspect all accounts not dealing with his conflict with the secularists to be pious concoctions. But we have since come to regard the laconic reports of his presence with the armies at Hunayn, A.H. 8; in Egypt, A.H. 18–21; at Amorium, A.H. 23 and at Cyprus, A.H. 28 as trustworthy and thus formed the opinion that he might have been a soldier during the greater part of his life as a Muslim. Accordingly we abandoned the proposed arrangement and decided so to order the materials as to let them run the usual course from the cradle to the grave in the light of our criticism.

To examine the accounts of the conflict between Abû Dharr and the secularists one needs an acquaintance with the history of the first four caliphs and the development of the financial policy during their time. To meet this need in part, for it is not our task to write a compendious history of early Islam, we offer the non-Islamist notes on the back-

ground of this conflict including the possible origin of Abû Dharr's teaching.

The accounts of this conflict fall into two clearly marked groups. The first and more reliable group consists of the few short accounts produced by Ibn Sa'd, of which, perhaps, the most important is the laconic account ascribed to Zayd b. Wahb, X A.H. 96/A.D. 714, that Abû Dharr withdrew to al-Rabadhah after falling out with Mu'âwiyah over the interpretation of Koran, IX, 34-35. This account has been puffed up by the imaginative Sayf b. 'Umar, quoted by al-Ṭabarî, X A.D. 923, to the effect that Abû Dharr incited the poor against the rich at Damascus by preaching from the same passage from the Koran. But another account of Ibn Sa'd's tends to belittle the same affair.

The second group, some two hundred years later than the first, that of the faction of 'Alî, makes Abû Dharr attack those whom this faction regards as 'Alî's enemies, namely the caliph 'Uthmân and his second cousin Mu'âwiyah. 'Alî, who probably never set eyes on Abû Dharr, is made to support the latter before 'Uthmân, to escort him on his way to banishment in al-Rabadhah and to quarrel violently with 'Uthmân's cousin Marwân on Abû Dharr's account.

This group of accounts comprises a number of variants, one as late as the seventeenth century, of what would seem to be a concoction of elements, of which some are as romantic as the accounts of his conversion and burial—certainly they are equally verbose. Nevertheless they offer various aspects of Abû Dharr's image. Therefore, for the sake of the non-Arabist we have translated and embodied all these accounts in order to offer to his criticism all available evidence concerning this momentous affair, the peak of Abû Dharr's career. To help the non-Islamist in the evaluation of these stories we preface the same with a note on the faction of 'Alî and follow them with an analysis, taking care not to fall into the error of synthetising its elements into a single account, after the fashion of Sir William Muir and Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî, who have taken elements of these accounts out of context and concocted them into continuous, smoothly flowing, but misleading narratives. To these secondary sources we add the sketches by E. G. Browne and A. Müller, who also accept uncritically the pro-'Alid accounts mentioned above, taking no notice of the older account produced by Ibn Sa'd.

We turn now to the consideration of the varying accounts of Abû Dharr's conversion. This has been postponed hitherto because in our view these stories, as also those of his death and some others owe much

of their content to pious invention, that is to the attempt to co-ordinate the story of his life to the type to which he attained toward the end of his life through his preaching against the godless of his generation.

In the accounts of his conversion one may possibly detect the nucleus of a single, original story to which abundant details have accrued. One element of this hard core consists of the report that he had been a monotheist some three years before he encountered Mohàmmèd. This is not impossible, because there were other pre-Islamic, non-Jewish, non-Christian monotheists in the Arabian peninsula about that time. These belonged to the typed designated ḥanīf. This implicit typification of Abū Dharr as one of their number is an element of his traditional image.

Another trait belonging to his image is imparted to us in the account of his uttering obscenities to idolatrous women during their circumambulation of the Ka'bah shortly before his conversion. This may be intended to lend support to the report of his pre-Islamic belief in one God. Moreover it may possibly have been introduced to liken his attitude toward the heathen to that of the first caliph Abū Bakr, noted for his piety, with whom he is fictitiously brought into contact in the accounts of his conversion.

But the report that Abū Dharr was the fifth, or even the fourth convert to Islam is, as Nöldeke maintains, an invention of the faction of 'Alī, who set great store by early conversion and service under Mohammed. Nevertheless, we believe that he was an early convert because he was one of the Supporters of the Prophet.

Chapter I

ABŪ DHARR'S CONVERSION

Hagiographic

The accounts concerning the conversion of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī might not be considered to be of much historical value, nevertheless they may interest the student of the history of religion as an example of the methodology followed by some of the earlier traditionists of Islam. Before one examines the reports of his allegedly early conversion and those of his service in the armies of God and His apostle in the early years of Islam one must bear in mind that early conversion and service under Mohammed came to be highly prized after the demise of the same, particularly by the fourth caliph, 'Alī.

While it is generally agreed that Khadījah, the first wife of Mohammed, might have been the first convert to Islam, there is a hot dispute concerning the identity of the first male Muslim. The three main persons with a claim to this position of honour are: 'Alī; Abū Bakr and Zayd b. Hārithah. While the claim of 'Alī might be acceptable, it cannot be of great significance, for he was at the time no more than about nine or ten years of age and a foster child in the household of Mohammed, and this must be borne in mind, when one reads that 'Alī in the early Meccan period during which Mohammed had to walk with great circumspection because of his powerful adversaries and kinsmen the Quraysh, led Abū Dharr with exaggerated secrecy to Mohammed's hiding place.

The claim for Abū Bakr may also be true in the sense that he was a fully grown man at the time of his conversion and that after the Abyssinian affair he was the most important man in Islam after Mohammed. But one must not lose sight of the probability that the traditionists have carried his later importance back into the early years of Islam. This is reflected also in the account that Abū Bakr was allegedly instrumental in sending Abū Dharr to Mohammed with 'Alī while the latter was yet a little boy.

Zayd b. Hārithah probably has the strongest claim to be considered as the first male Muslim, for he was a freedman of Mohammed's.

It is noteworthy that al-Ṭabarī (Iiii, 1168, cf. Ibn Ishāq, p. 162) does not mention Abū Dharr among the early converts introduced to Mohammed by Abū Bakr. Even those named are indeed suspect, for it is difficult, as Montgomery Watt¹ remarks, to believe that these should have come as a group to Mohammed in the early days of his career, and then again some twenty years later, should be, together with 'Alī, considered as leaders of the caliphate. The names of this group are:

'Uthmān b. 'Affān

az- al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām

'Abdurrahmān b. 'Awf

~~Sa'b abī Waqqās~~ Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās

Ṭalhah b. 'Ubaydullah.

al-Ṭabarī quotes also a report according to Ibn Sa'd according to which four other persons claimed to be the fourth or the fifth Muslim, namely:

Khālīd b. Sa'īd

Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī

'Amr b. 'Abasah, the uterine brother
of Abū Dharr al-Zubayr,

but he hastens to add that there was much diversity of opinion concerning this matter.

One wonders why Ibn Ishāq does not include Abū Dharr in his list of early converts to Islam, seeing that he mentions him among those between whom Mohammed established brotherhood at Medinah after the Hijrah (Ibn Ishāq, p. 345), but compare Ibn Sa'd, Iiii, p. 100, 22.

Nevertheless he was borne on the nominal roll of the Supporters during the Egyptian campaign of A.H. 18–21. He must therefore have been a Supporter—and *ipso facto*—an early convert.

There are four variants of the traditional account of Abū Dharr's conversion:

(1) By Khufāf b. 'Imā' b. Raḥḍah,¹ the headman or the son of the headman of the Banū Ghifār and contemporary with Abū Dharr.

(2) By Najīh abū Ma'shar,² a Koran exegete who rested on the exegesis of Mohammed b. Qurādī. It is worthy of note in passing that al-Wāqidi's work is based on that of Najīh, who died A.H. 175/A.D. 791.

(3) By Ibn 'Abbās,³ the son of al-'Abbās, an uncle of Mohammed's.

¹ *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford, 1953, p. 86.

¹ I.S., IV; 163, 6 ff.

² I.S., IV; 163, 24 ff.

³ I.S., IV; 164, 28 ff.

Ibn 'Abbās was thirteen years old when Mohammed died. He served in the campaign in North Africa, A.H. 27/A.D. 647 and represented 'Alī at Baṣrah A.H. 35/A.D. 655 during the annual pilgrimage. In the same year he became 'Alī's governor at Baṣrah and worked also as a teacher there. He worked out a consistent system of Koran exegesis. His teacher in Jewish matters was Ka'b al-aḥbār, a converted Jew, whom tradition portrays as an opponent of Abū Dharr's. Ibn 'Abbās died A.H. 68/A.D. 687.

(4) By Abū Dharr.¹ This account rests on a chain of authorities including Ḥumayd b. Hilāl to whom Sprenger ascribes the exaggerations and ridiculous elements of the legend.

All four variants have one point in common, namely the transference of Abū Dharr's conversion to the earliest days of Islam in Mecca during which Mohammed's tribe, the Quraysh, persecuted him. Another point that they have in common, although the details show some divergence, is that he is said to have been a missionary after his conversion, forcibly converting the personnel of the caravans of the Quraysh, the enemies of God's messenger and converting a considerable proportion of his own tribe, the Banū Gifār. The latter detail is remarkable, because the Banū Ghifār were not converted until the fall of Mecca, A.H. 8. Another prominent feature of these accounts is that he is said to have suffered violence as a result of his having proclaimed the Tawḥīd from the 'mosque' of Mecca, under which we must probably understand the Ka'bah. His activity as a missionary would seem to be put forth as an excuse for his absence from the first battles of Islam, namely Badr, Uhud and al-Khandaq.

We turn now to consider the brief account according to Khufāf b. Îmā' b. Raḥḍah, a fellow-tribesman and a contemporary of Abū Dharr. Now Îmā' b. Raḥḍah was one of the Muslims who hesitated to join Mohammed on his march against the Byzantine Christian Arabs of Tabūk, A.H. 9. The same, indeed, is alleged concerning Abū Dharr also. This account would seem to be almost entirely free of tendentious distortion for or against the Umayyads and is self-contained. It would be difficult to remove any one of its elements without doing violence to the whole. It is, in fact, a very plausible story. According to this story Abū Dharr was a marauder in pre-Islamic times. In this period God is said to have planted Islam in his heart, ~~whatever that might mean~~. It is probably an attempt to include Abū Dharr among those

¹ I.S., IV; 161, 9 ff. This variant is referred to under: Ḥumayd or (4).

forerunners of Islam, the Ḥanīf, who believed, as also the Jews and the Christians of the Arabian peninsula and the Fertile Crescent, in one God. Abū Dharr is said to have heard of Mohammed at the time in which he was secretly calling men to the true faith of Islam. This led him to seek for someone who might lead him to the preacher of God's unity, but in vain. At length, however, he found the prophet's house on his own initiative. In this house he found Mohammed in the company of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr exhorted Mohammed to manifest Islam and make no secret of it. Abū Dharr then asked Mohammed to what he was summoning his hearers and received the answer: To God, so do away with idols and testify that I am God's messenger. Surprisingly there is no retort from the fiery Abū Dharr, that he already believed in God and did not worship idols. The account states simply that he accepted Islam and told Mohammed that he intended to return to his tribe to await the time of the call to battle, for he had noticed that Mohammed's own tribe were against him, and that he would then join him. Mohammed answered that Abū Dharr was right. So Abū Dharr went then and haunted the pass of Ghazāl, where he barred the way of the caravans of the Quraysh and seized them single-handed, returning their goods to those who accepted Islam at his behest, but retaining the merchandise of those who refused thus forcibly to be converted to a movement that struck at the source of much of their wealth, polytheistic worship at the Ka'bah. He is said to have continued in this manner until after the battles of Badr and Uḥud and to have come afterwards to Mohammed and to have remained with him (Ibn Sa'd, IVi, p. 163 ff.)

The representation of Abū Dharr as a highway robber both before and after his conversion presented no difficulty to those for whom the accounts on this point were intended, for the *razzia/ghazw* otherwise considered as a form of brigandage is raised by the economic and social conditions of desert life to the rank of a national institution. It lies at the base of the economic structure of a Bedouin pastoral society. In desert land where the fighting mood is a chronic mental condition, raiding is one of the few manly occupations. Christian tribes, too, such as the Banū Taghlib practised it without any mental reservation. The poet al-Ḳutamī of the early Umayyad period has given expression to the guiding principle of such a life in two verses: "Our business is to make raids on the enemy, on our neighbour and on our brother, in case we find none to raid but a brother." See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 25, also Caskel, *Die Bedeutung der Beduinen für die Geschichte der Araber*

and Abû Tammam, *As'ar al-Hamasah*, ed. Freytag, Bonn, 1828, p. 171 and compare Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 247. There is no point, therefore, in trying to compare Abû Dharr with the robber who became a Christian, namely Moses the Robber, for the latter ceased to be a freebooter after the order of David who operated in the Negeb after he had fallen into disfavour with Saul, and, following the scriptural injunction, stole no more. See St. Krottenthaler, Moses der Räuber, in *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, vol. V, p. 539 ff, Kempten und München, 1912. Abû Dharr's single-handed robbing of the caravans of the Quraysh made of him an ally of the prophet and a missionary in God's cause/fi sabîl Allâh.

In Khufâf's account of Abû Dharr's activity as a lone marauder who fell upon caravans alone and unaided like some wild beast one may perhaps detect the tendency to depict him as a mighty man of valour after the order of Samson, or rather 'Alî, for al-Mas'ûdî (Murûj al-Dhahab, IV, p. 376) tells us in an account of the battle of Şiffin, that 'Alî with his own hand killed five hundred and twenty three men in one day. Afterwards extraordinary feats were told of him, how he had severed heads from their bodies and had hewn bodies in two with his sabre Dhû 'l-fakar, the upper part rolling on the ground while the lower part of the body remained on horseback. He is represented as waiting unmoved for the attack of the enemy, and knocking thirty three assailants down by the simple expedient of extending his arm.

This account of Khufâf b. Îmâ' b. Raḥḍah would seem to be the basis of the tradition on the same subject according to Najîḥ abû Ma'shar, which we now give in outline:

Najîḥ, leaving out of account Abû Dharr's occupation in pre-Islamic times, enlarges on Khufâf's laconic account that God planted Islam in Abû Dharr's heart, by telling us that he had feared God during the period before the emergence of Islam; that he declared that there was no God but God and eschewed the worship of idols. This is interesting, for Abû Dharr's tribe the Banû Ghifâr are said to have been idolaters down to the fall of Mecca, A.H. 8. There is no discrimination here against the Banû Ghifâr, because Mohammed called on all Arabs, yea, on all men, Christians included, to depart from idolatry. We are told also by what means Abû Dharr heard of the prophet, because Najîḥ informs us that it was a Meccan who told Abû Dharr of one of the Quraysh who claimed to be a prophet and who declared that there is no God but God. Our narrator now begins to add unnecessary details to his story by telling us that Abû Dharr provisioned himself with mastic,

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in which the Hejaz abounded, as one may gather from its name: bilād al-bahsh, which being interpreted means the land of mastic, and travelled to Mecca. There he found Abū Bakr, but not as Khufāf relates, with Mohammed. Najīh adds the trivial detail that Abū Bakr fed Abū Dharr on dried fruits. The next day Abū Dharr sought after Mohammed but not in vain as in Khufāf's account, for he found a cousin of Mohammed, which can only mean 'Alī or Ibn 'Abbās. We are inclined to believe that it is 'Alī who is meant. This cousin led him to the prophet. We suspect here the tendency to bring Abū Dharr early into contact not only with Abu Bakr, but also with 'Alī, two of the orthodox caliphs. As the Hashimite cousin of Mohammed is not named it is not clear whether the tendency be 'Alid or 'Abbāsīd. But in either case it could not be pro-Umayyad. Abū Dharr questioned Mohammed concerning his doctrine. This Mohammed described as being no sooth-saying, but the proclamation/al-ḡur'ān, which not he, but God proclaimed. Before the mention of Abū Dharr's embracing of Islam this account tells us that Mohammed was astonished to hear that Abū Dharr was a Ghifārī. But this clashes with the note in *Sīrat rasūl Allāh* of Ibn Ishāk (p. 434) from which one may deduce that Mohammed did not even know even the district in which the Banū Ghifār dwelt before his march on Badr, and that it was on this occasion that he heard for the first time of this tribe. While Abū Dharr was still with Mohammed, Abū Bakr arrived on the scene, whereupon Mohammed told him of Abū Dharr's acceptance of Islam. Thereupon Abū Bakr asked the prophet, whether Abū Dharr had not been his (Abū Bakr's) guest on the previous evening, to which Mohammed replied in the affirmative. Abū Bakr then took Abū Dharr home and presented him with two garments that had been dyed red. Abū Dharr then spent some days with Abū Bakr before he saw a woman performing the circumambulation of the Ka'bah on a moonlight night, praying to the idols Isāf and Nā'ilah (said to have been the figures of a couple petrified during sexual embrace in the Ka'bah in pre-Islamic times). On his disturbing her while she was thus occupied the young men of the Ḳuraysh fell upon him and gave him a sound thrashing. A number of the Banū Bakr then came upon the scene and persuaded the Ḳuraysh to desist from beating him. This element is plainly anti-Umayyad, being directed against the Ḳuraysh, the tribe of the caliph 'Uthmān, with whom Abū Dharr is made to come into collision through his ranting against the secularists of his day. Abū Dharr then went to the prophet and told him that he would not leave the Ḳuraysh before he had avenged himself on them because they had

used him badly. This note of personal revenge would present no difficulty to the mind of those for whom it was intended. Abû Dharr then went to 'Usfân. At the pass of Ghazâl he seized the caravans of the *Quraysh*. Those who accepted Islam received their captured goods again. Those who refused to embrace the new faith forfeited their possessions. This we have already seen in the account according to Khufâf b. 'Imâ' b. Raḥdah, Ibn Sa'd, IVi, p. 163, 24 ff.

The account ascribed to Ibn 'Abbas, a cousin of Mohammed's, omits all mention of Abû Bakr but describes in great detail how 'Alî, in the early Meccan period of Mohammed's career (when he was but a lad of ten years or so, being a foster child in Mohammed's household (Ibn Iṣhâq, p. 159) led Abû Dharr with marked circumspection to the prophet's hiding place. An outline of the account will suffice: Abû Dharr heard of a Meccan who made pretensions to prophethood and sent his brother Unays to make inquiries about him. Not content with his brother's intelligence he set out for Mecca himself. There he acted with great caution. This caution is a tacit reference to the hostility of Mohammed's tribe *Quraysh* towards the prophet. Night had fallen before he had had a chance to find Mohammed, so he prepared to spend the night by the 'mosque', which probably means the Ka'bah, because it is here referred to as al-masjid, while any other mosque is called a jâmi'. There 'Alî discovered him and took him home, whatever that might mean, for, as we have already stated, 'Alî was at that time a foster child in Mohammed's household. This happened on three successive evenings. On the morning of the fourth day 'Ali led Abû Dharr with pronounced circumspection to Mohammed's place of hiding. There Abû Dharr embraced Islam. On two successive days Abû Dharr publicly declared from the 'mosque' the tawḥîd, that is the declaration that there is no God but God. Because of this the *Quraysh* thrashed him on each occasion. But in this account it is not the Banû Bakr that rescue him from the odious *Quraysh* but none other than al-'Abbâs himself, an uncle of the prophet, Ibn Sa'd, IVi, p. 164, 24 ff. This variant stands out from the other accounts by reason of its style. It belongs to another circle and a later epoch—the beginning of the 'Abbâsid period, about 750 A.D. The ascribing of the account to Ibn 'Abbas signifies nothing but that the anonymous compiler of this story devotes his work to the reigning dynasty—the 'Abbâsids. The appearance of al-'Abbâs as the rescuer and succourer of the saintly Abû Dharr strengthens the homage paid to the 'Abbâsid rulers. See Nöldeke, *Zur*

tendenziösen Gestaltung der Urgeschichte des Islams in ZDMG, 52.Bd. Leipzig, 1898, pp. 16–33.

The account resting on the authority of ‘Abdullah b. al-Şāmit al-Ghifārī and on Abū Dharr himself was, according to Sprenger, (*Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, Berlin, 1861, vol. I, p. 455 f.) edited by Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, to whom he (Sprenger) ascribes the exaggerations and ridiculous elements. This account begins with an irrelevant accretion according to which Abū Dharr, accompanied by his brother Unays and their mother Ramlah bint al-Waḳīyah al-Ghifārī, visited her brother, whose name is not mentioned. During this visit Unays is accused of folly with his uncle’s wives during the latter’s absence. This leads to an abrupt and unhappy end of the visit after which the party travels further towards the confines of Mecca. At this point Unays said that he had to go to Mecca. On his return thence he spoke of a co-religionist of Abū Dharr’s, that claimed to have been sent by God. Before this Abū Dharr had already communicated to his nephew ‘Abdullah ibn al-Şāmit al-Ghifārī, the second last of the chain of authorities on whom this account rests, that he had performed the ritual prayer three years beforehand. This account has the further accrescence that the Meccans stoned Abū Dharr, not because of his proclaiming the tawḥīd, but because of his asking after the apostate from polytheism/sābi’, which we must take to refer to Mohammed. Here we remember that Najīḥ states that Abū Dharr was thrashed because of his disturbing a woman performing her polytheistic devotions at the Ka’bah and that the account ascribed to Ibn ‘Abbās contains the allegation that Abū Dharr was thrashed in consequence of his declaration of the tawḥīd. There now accrues to the assertion of his being stoned the fable that he subsisted on the magical waters of the well Zamzam for thirty days and thirty nights and put weight on in the process! On the night that Abū Dharr met Mohammed with Abū Bakr by the Ka’bah he had disturbed two women at their devotions during their circumambulation of the same by uttering an obscene remark that led to their hurried flight in confusion during which they encountered Mohammed with Abū Bakr after these had touched the black stone, circumambulated the Ka’bah and completed their prayer, as though they were polytheists! Abū Dharr then greeted Mohammed with the greeting of Islam: Peace be with thee/al-salām ‘alayka. On hearing that Abū Dharr was a Ghifārī, Mohammed is said to have touched his forehead. But he praised the waters of Zamzam on hearing from Abū Dharr that he had survived by their efficacy for thirty days and thirty nights.

1 de-italicise "in"

Then Abû Bakr took Abû Dharr home and for some days showed him hospitality. This reminds us of Najîh's account to much the same effect. Afterwards Mohammed informed Abû Dharr that he (Mohammed) would be sent to Yathrib, that is Medina. He then asked him to convert his tribe the Banû Ghifâr to Islam. Compare the image of Khufâf and Najîh of the robber-missionary that forced the Quraysh to embrace Islam. Abû Dharr then returned to Unays and told him of his conversion to Islam. Thereupon Unays also embraced Islam. The two then sought their mother who also accepted the new faith. These three then rode to their tribe, some of whom became Muslims. Khufâf b. Îmâ' b. Raḥḍah, the headman of the tribe, said later that the rest of the tribe accepted Islam when the messenger of God arrived in Medina.

While the three foregoing accounts have perhaps at least the semblance of sober narrative the fourth variant belongs to the province of imaginative reporting that is scarcely possible before ninth century—Ibn Sa'd died A.H. 231, that is A.D. 845. Even so, it is possible to connect at least one item of fiction with fact—I mean the healing and quickening powers of the waters of Zamzam on which Abû Dharr is said to have nourished himself for a whole month, because the wife of Hârûn al-rashîd, who died A.H. 195, that is A.D. 809, installed a conduit from the confines of Ṭâ'if to Mecca. See *Snouck Hurgronje*, *Mekka*, p. 7. This installation may have led to the need for propaganda for the time honoured well of Zamzam. Hence perhaps this tribute to the quickening powers of its sweet waters.

The account according to Khufâf b. Îmâ' b. Raḥḍah rests on a chain of authorities/isnâd beginning with al-Wâḳidî, a protégé of Hârûn al-Rashîd and al-Ma'mûn and historiographer of Mohammed's military campaigns. Of Khufâf we know only that he was the headman or the son of the headman of the Banû Ghifâr, Abû Dharr's tribe, and that he together with Abû Dharr was among those who took a long time to decide whether to join Mohammed on his march against the Christian Arabs of Tabûk A.H. 9.

This account makes Abû Dharr not only one of the first converts to Islam but also one of the pre-Islamic monotheists of the Arabian peninsula and the Fertile Crescent.

The account according to Najîh:—al-Wâḳidî repeats this account on the authority of Najîh abû Ma'shar, alias Abû Ma'shar Najîh, alias Abû Ma'shar or simply Najîh, who was a Koran exegete.

This account seems to be based on that ascribed to Khufâf. Khufâf tells us that Allah planted Islam in Abû Dharr's heart but Najîh is made

to say that Abû Dharr feared Allah in the times of Arab ignorance/al-jâhiliya, that he declared the tawhîd and worshipped no idols. One almost wonders why Abû Dharr did not become the founder of Islam.

Khufâf makes Abû Dharr find Mohammed together with Abû Bakr one of the four rightly guided caliphs/râshidûn, but Najîh giving prominence to Abû Dharr's meeting, Abû Bakr makes a cousin of Mohammed's that is Ibn 'Abbâs or 'Alî lead Abû Dharr to the prophet. The account thus receives a pro-'Alid-pro-'Abbâsid twist.

Mohammed is said to have been astonished to hear that Abû Dharr was a Ghifârî (v. 6). But Mohammed at the time of his march on Badr was not well acquainted with Abû Dharr's tribe, for we read:¹ "... when he (Mohammed) got to al-Safrâ', which is a village between two mountains, he asked what their names were. He was told that they were Muslih and Mukhri (laxative!). He asked about their inhabitants and was told that they were B. al-Nâr (sons of fire) and B. al-Hurâq (sons of burning), two clans of B. Ghifâr. The apostle drew an ill omen from their names, and so disliked them, that he refused to pass between them".

The note on Abû Dharr's provisioning himself with mastic shows that the note was intended for people who did not even know what it was, because the word 'mastic'/bahsh is defined by the note: 'i.e. muql'—probably better understood in Baghdad in the ninth century than 'bahsh'.

The account according to Ibn 'Abbâs:—Ibn 'Abbâs was the son of al-'Abbâs and therefore a cousin of Mohammed's. He was thirteen years old at Mohammed's death. He served in the campaign in North Africa A.D. 647 and was Ali's lieutenant at Baṣrah A.D. 655. In the same year he was made Ali's governor of Baṣrah where he taught as a scholar of ḥadīth and Koran exegesis of which he elaborated a consistent system.

This account omits all mention of Abû Bakr and the Banû Bakr and describes in great detail how 'Alî in the early Meccan period when he was only a foster child in Mohammed's household and no more than ten years old (Ibn Ishâq, 159), led Abû Dharr with marked circumspection to the prophet's hiding place.

This account stands out from the others by reason of its style. It belongs to another circle in a later epoch—the beginning of the 'Abbâsid period (A.D. 750–1258). The mention of Ibn 'Abbâs as the narrator signifies nothing but that the anonymous compiler of this story devotes

¹ Ibn Ishâq, p. 434.

his work to the reigning dynasty. In this account it is not the Banû Bakr that save Abû Dharr from the odious, heathenish Quraysh but none other than al-'Abbâs himself, an uncle of Mohammed's and one of the richest of the Banû Hâshim. The appearance of al-'Abbâs as the rescuer and succourer of the saintly Abû Dharr strengthens the homage thus paid to the 'Abbâsids.

Concerning the account of the protection of Abû Dharr by al-'Abbâs Nöldeke says: „Dass Abbas den frommen Abû Dharr, und zwar schon vor der Hidschra offen beschützt habe, ist schon deshalb eine Fabel, weil eben die frühe Bekehrung dieses Mannes erdichtet ist“.¹ Of the reports of Abû Dharr's early conversion he says: „Ich erwähne die schiitische Erfindung, dass Abu Dharr gleich nach Chadija, Ali und Zaid Muhammed anerkannt habe, die verschiedenen Erdichtungen über diesen Heiligen, der in Wirklichkeit erst mehrere Jahre nach der Hidschra des Propheten zu diesem gekommen ist.“²

But Nöldeke seems to have overlooked the fact that Abû Dharr served with the Supporters in Egypt. Being a Supporter he must have been an early convert.

The account according to 'Abdullah b. al-Şâmit was, in Sprenger's view, edited by Ḥumayd b. Hilâl, to whom he ascribes the exaggerations and the ridiculous elements. This account is an example of the edifying literature of the ninth century.

Although Abû Bakr is made to take Abû Dharr home and give him shelter for some days, he does not take him to Mohammed. This may rest on the statement in the biography of the prophet of the names of those whom Abû Dharr did take to Mohammed, for Abû Dharr was not one of them (Ibn Ishâq, 159). It is not explicitly stated that Abû Dharr accepted Islam at Mohammed's hand: he is simply made to tell his brother Unays that he had become a Muslim.

Abû Dharr is made to hurl an obscenity at two women praying to images of Isâf and Nâ'ilah that had originally been set up to perpetuate the memory of their having been petrified while fornicating in the temple—and not to be worshipped. But later generations did not know this and worshipped these graven images. This may be an attempt implicitly to liken Abû Dharr to Abû Bakr, who like Isaiah (and perhaps Peter) was a man of unclean lips, for Abû Bakr once uttered an obscene remark to one of the Thaḳîf, worshippers of the goddess al-Lât. That

¹ ZDMG, vol. 52, Leipzig, 1898, p. 24, Zur tendenziösen Gestaltung der Urgeschichte des Islams.

² *idem*, p. 21.

the improper remarks are in each case directed at heathens justifies their utterance.

An Analysis of the Materials

Sources

Ibn Sa'd¹ (died A.D. 845) produces four accounts of Abû Dharr's conversion, namely:

- (1) One put into the mouth of Khufâf b. Îmâ' b. Raḥḍah, the headman or the son of the headman of Abû Dharr's tribe the Banû Ghifâr.
- (2) One ascribed to Najîh abû Ma'shar, the authority of al-Wâḳidî (died A.D. 822) on whom he most heavily leans.
- (3) One put into the mouth of Ibn 'Abbâs the son of al-'Abbâs, an uncle of Mohammed's.
- (4) One resting on the authority of Abû Dharr's nephew Abdullah b. al'-Ŝâmit and on Ḥumayd b. Hilâl.

The account ascribed to Ibn 'Abbâs is reproduced with slightly different details by:

- (1) al-Bukhârî (II, 386; III, 23).
 - (2) b. Ḥajar, al-Iṣâba, VII, 62.
 - (3) 'Abd al-Barr, Kitâb al-Istî'âb, 645,
- while the one resting on Ḥumayd b. Hilâl is rendered with slight variations by:

- (1) Muslim, Ṣaḥîḥ, II, 497.
- (2) b. Ḥanbal, Musnad, V, 174.
- (3) b. Ḥajar, Kitâb al-Iṣâba, VII, 62.

The differences contained in the variants are noted in the examination of all four accounts given below.

(1) *An outline of the ḥadîth according to Khufâf b. Raḥḍah*

1. Abû Dharr was a marauder during the times of Arab ignorance.
2. Allah planted Islam in his heart.
3. He heard of the prophet when he was in Mecca circumspectly making converts and went thither.
4. He sought in vain for someone to lead him to the prophet but eventually found his house himself.
5. There he found Mohammed with Abû Bakr.
6. Abû Bakr exhorted Mohammed to manifest Islam and to make no secret of it.
7. Abû Dharr asked Mohammed to what he was summoning his hearers. Mohammed answered: To Allah: so do away with idols and testify that I am Allah's messenger.

¹ I.S., IVi, 161-165.

8. Thereupon Abû Dharr accepted Islam.

9. Abû Dharr then told Mohammed that he intended to return to his tribe to await the time of the call to battle, for he perceived that his (Mohammed's) tribe (the Quraysh) were against him; and that he would then join him. Mohammed told him that he was right.

10. Abû Dharr then went and haunted the pass of Ghazal where he barred the way of the caravans of the Quraysh and seized them. Those who accepted Islam got their goods back. Those who did not, lost them.

11. He continued in this manner until after the battles of Badr and Uḥud, when he came to the prophet and stayed with him.

(2) *An Outline of the Ḥadīth according to Najīh¹*

1. Abû Dharr feared Allah in the times of Arab ignorance; declared the unity of Allah and worshipped no idols.

2. After the prophet had received inspiration, a Meccan told Abû Dharr of a Qurayshite in Mecca, who considered himself to be a prophet and who declared the unity of Allah. Abû Dharr then provisioned himself with mastic and travelled to Mecca.

3. There he met Abû Bakr who fed him on dried fruits.

4. On the following day through the instrumentality of Abû Bakr, Abû Dharr found a cousin of the prophet who led him to the same.

5. Abû Dharr asked Mohammed about his doctrine. Mohammed explained that this was no poetry but the Koran (proclamation) which not he, but Allah proclaimed.

6. Mohammed was astonished to hear that Abû Dharr was a Ghifârî.²

7. Abû Bakr came on the scene and Mohammed told him of Abû Dharr's conversion. Abû Bakr then asked Mohammed if he had not been his guest the night before, to which Mohammed replied that he had. Abû Bakr then took Abû Dharr home and clothed him in two garments that had been dyed red. Abû Dharr spent some days with him.

8. Abû Dharr saw a³ woman performing the circumambulation of the Ka'bah, praying to (the idols) Isâf and Nâ'ilah.⁴

9. He disturbed her while she was thus engaged. Thereupon the

¹ Alias Najīh abû Ma'shar Najīh, al-Wâqidî's main source of information.

² cf. Abū, V, 174, 14 ff.

³ Humayd b. Hilâl mentions two women.

⁴ Isâf and Nâ'ilah were communal lovers petrified in the act of fornication in the temple. The woman was addressing her prayer to the statues of these criminal lovers, which may mean that she was performing ritual fornication.

young men of the Quraysh thrashed him. A number of the Banû Bakr then arrived and persuaded the Quraysh to desist from beating Abû Dharr.¹

10. Abû Dharr then went to the prophet and told him that he would not leave the Quraysh before he had avenged himself on them because they had beaten him.

11. Abû Dharr went then to 'Uṣfân. At the pass of Ghazâl he seized the caravans of the Quraysh. Those who accepted Islam received their captured goods again, while those who did not, lost them.

(3) *An Outline of the Ḥadīth according to Ibn 'Abbās²*

1. Abû Dharr heard of a Meccan, who claimed to be a prophet and sent his brother Unays to Mecca to get information about him.

2. Unays heard the messenger of Allah in Mecca. On his return he told Abû Dharr that this man exhorted to good works and forbade evil-doing and that he commanded people to behave virtuously.

3. Unsatisfied with his brother's report Abû Dharr travelled to Mecca.

4. He refrained from questioning anyone in Mecca. Nightfall overtook him as he met the messenger of Allah, so he spent the night at the side of the mosque (Ka'bah).

5. Ali found him there and took him home. Neither asked the other anything at all.

6. On the next day Abû Dharr sought Mohammed in vain. On this day also he had no wish to ask anyone about him, so he went back and slept until the evening.

7. Again Ali found him and took him home. Neither asked the other anything whatsoever.

8. On the third day Ali asked Abû Dharr his business, which he then told him.

9. Thereupon Ali promised to introduce Abû Dharr to Mohammed on the following morning. They agreed on a sign that Ali would make in case he saw anything which might give him concern for Abû Dharr.

10. When Ali introduced Abû Dharr to the prophet, the latter told him of his message. Thereupon Abû Dharr accepted Islam and asked Mohammed what he commanded him. Mohammed then commanded him to return to his tribe and await further orders. cf. (4), v. 14.

11. Abû Dharr then proclaimed that there is no God but God and that Mohammed is His messenger in the Mosque (al-Ka'bah).

¹ Ibn 'Abbās speaks of his father al-'Abbās in this context.

² Ibn 'Abbās, the son of al-'Abbās, was a cousin of Mohammed.

12. Thereupon the Quraysh beat him till he was senseless. al-'Abbās then arrived on the scene and protected him from the Quraysh. cf. Najīh, v. 9.

13. On the following day Abū Dharr repeated his declaration of the tawhīd, i.e. that there is no God but God and that Mohammed is His messenger, and was again thrashed by the Quraysh until he became unconscious. Again al-'Abbās protected him from the Quraysh. cf. Najīh, v. 9.

(4) *An Outline of the Ḥadīth according to 'Abdullah b. al-Ṣāmit*¹

1. Abū Dharr and his brother Unays together with their mother left their tribe the Ghifār, in order to visit their mother's brother (who is not named).

2. Unays was accused by his uncle's tribesmen of adultery (i.e. of adultery with his uncle's wives.) Thereupon Abū Dharr and Unays journeyed with their mother to the outskirts of Mecca.

3. Abū Dharr told his brother's son 'Abdullah b. al-Ṣāmit that he had performed the ritual prayer/ṣalāt three years before he met Mohammed. cf. Najīh, v. 1.

4. Unays travelled to Mecca. On his return he told Abū Dharr that Mohammed held his (Abū Dharr's) belief and that he (Mohammed) was no poet.

5. Abū Dharr travelled to Mecca where he was stoned²² as he asked after the apostate from idolatry (ṣābi'). cf. Najīh, v. 9.

6. After his stoning Abū Dharr lived thirty days and thirty nights on the waters of the well Zamzam.

7. Abū Dharr uttered an obscene expression before two²³ women who were performing the circumambulation of the Ka'bah on a moon-lit night. cf. Najīh, v. 8.

8. After the flight of these two women Mohammed and Abū Bakr performed the circumambulation of the Ka'bah.

9. Abū Dharr then went up to Mohammed and saluted him with the greeting of Islam.

10. Mohammed made a gesture of surprise on hearing that Abū Dharr was a Ghifārī. (cf. Najīh, v. 6).

11. Mohammed praised the waters of Zamzam on hearing that Abū Dharr had lived on them alone for thirty days and thirty nights.

12. Abū Bakr took Abū Dharr home and gave him shelter for some days. (cf. Najīh, v. 7).

¹ Abū Dharr's nephew who puts this account into his uncle's mouth. Ḥumayd b. Hilāl is one of the authorities on whom this account rests. This variant is referred to under: Ḥumayd or (4).

13. Mohammed told Abû Dharr that he (Mohammed) was going to be sent to Yathrib/Medina.

14. Mohammed asked Abû Dharr to convert his tribe (Banû Ghifâr). (cf. b. 'Abbâs, v. 10).

15. Abû Dharr returned to Unays and told him that he had become a Muslim. Thereupon Unays also became a Muslim.

16. Abû Dharr and Unays then sought their mother who also became a Muslim.

17. These three rode then to their tribe, the Banû Ghifâr, some of whom became Muslims.

18. Khufâf b. Îmâ' b. Raḥḍah the head of the Banû Ghifâr (Musnad V, 175, 21), said later that the rest of the tribe accepted Islam when the messenger of Allah arrived in Medina (A.D. 621/2).

A Synopsis of the Foregoing Variants

1. Abû Dharr claimed to have performed the ritual prayer before he met Mohammed. (Ḥumayd)

2. Abû Dharr feared Allah in the times of Arab ignorance; proclaimed the tawḥîd and worshipped no idols (after the manner of a Ḥanîf). (Najîh)

3. Abû Dharr was an upright, valiant man, who barred the way of troops of camelry attacking them at break of day sometimes mounted at others on foot. At night he raided the tribes and seized whatsoever his hand found. Then Allah planted ~~Alla~~ in his heart. (Khufâf) Islam

4. After Mohammed had received divine inspiration, a Meccan told Abû Dharr of a Ḳurayshite in Mecca who like him (Abû Dharr) proclaimed the tawḥîd and who held himself to be a prophet. (Najîh)

5. Abû Dharr heard of the prophet in Mecca who secretly led others to the faith. (Khufâf)

6. Unays had to go to Mecca. (b. 'Abbâs)

7. Unays set off for Mecca to obtain information concerning Mohammed. (Ḥumayd)

8. Abû Dharr sent Unays to Mecca to obtain information concerning Mohammed. (Ḥumayd and b. 'Abbâs)

9. Unays returning from Mecca reported:

(a) that Mohammed exhorted to good works and forbade evildoing and that he commanded virtuous behaviour. (b. 'Abbâs)

(b) that Mohammed exhorted to good works and forbade evildoing. (al Bukhârî, II, 386). (b. 'Abbâs)

(c) that Mohammed exhorted to the highest morals and that he did not speak as one of the poets/soothsayers. (al-Bukhârî, III, 23).

(b. 'Abbâs)

(d) that Mohammed was a coreligionist of Abû Dharr's, who did not speak as one of the poets/soothsayers (b. Sa'd, Muslim, b. Ḥanbal).

(Ḥumayd)

(e) that there was a man whom people called the apostate from idolatry (ṣâbi') who of all people most strongly resembled Abû Dharr.

(b. Ḥajar).

(Ḥumayd)

10. Abû Dharr asked Unays for victuals and travelled himself to Mecca. (b. Sa'd and Muslim).

(Ḥumayd)

(b) Abû Dharr took a container full of water and victuals. (b. Sa'd).

(c) A sack and a staff. (al-Bukhârî, II, 386).

(b. 'Abbâs)

(d) Victuals and a container full of water. (b. Ḥajar and 'Abd al-Barr).

(b. 'Abbâs)

(e) Victuals and water. ('Abd al-Barr).

(b. 'Abbâs)

(f) bdellium/bahsh, i.e. mastic as victuals and lived thereon until he reached Mecca.

(Najîh)

(g) he lived thirty days and thirty nights on the waters of Zamzam alone.

(Ḥumayd)

11. Abû Dharr found Mohammed together with Abû Bakr in a house. Abû Dharr asked Mohammed to what he summoned (his hearers). On Mohammed's answer: To Allah, so do away with the idols and testify that I am Allah's messenger; he accepted Islam.

(Khufâf)

12. Abû Dharr met Abû Bakr in Mecca and was entertained by him. The next day a cousin of the prophet's from the Banû Hâshim (i.e. Ali) led Abû Dharr to Mohammed. At Abû Dharr's request Mohammed recited to him a surah from the Koran. Thereupon Abû Dharr accepted Islam.

(Najîh)

13. Quite alone, Abû Dharr found Mohammed with Abû Bakr by the Ka'bah.

(Ḥumayd)

14. In Mecca Abû Dharr refrained from asking anyone anything. Night overtook him there as he was still seeking the messenger of Allah, so he spent the night at the side of the mosque/al-Ka'bah. Ali came along and took him home with him.

(b. 'Abbâs)

15. Abû Dharr acted as though he knew nothing about Mohammed and would not ask anyone about him. He drank of the waters of Zamzam and visited the mosque/al-Ka'bah.¹ Ali came along and took

¹ al-Ka'bah was not at that time a mosque, still being in the hands of the heathenish Quraysh.

him home with him. (al-Bukhârî, II, 386). (b. 'Abbâs)

16. Abû Dharr went to the mosque/al-Ka'bah and sought after the prophet. But he did not know him nor did he wish to ask about him in order to find him. As he laid himself down at eventide Ali saw him and took him home with him. (al-Bukhârî, II, 23). (b. 'Abbâs)

17. Abû Dharr went to the mosque/al-Ka'bah and sought after the prophet but did not wish to ask about him. Night overtook him so he laid himself down. Then 'Alî saw him and took him home with him. (b. Hajar). (b. 'Abbâs)

18. Abû Dharr went to the mosque and sought after the prophet but did not know him and did not wish to ask about him. Night overtook him so he laid himself down. Then 'Alî saw him and took him home. ('Abd al-Barr). (b. 'Abbâs)

19. The next day Abû Dharr sought in vain after the prophet. 'Alî found him on the evening of the same day and took him home with him again. (b. Sa'd, al-Bukhârî, II & III, b. Hajar, 'Abd al-Barr). (b. 'Abbâs)

20. On the evening of the third day 'Alî asked Abû Dharr his business. Thereupon Abû Dharr explained to him why he had come to Mecca. Then 'Alî promised to introduce him to the prophet on the following morning. At the same time they agreed on a sign that 'Ali would make in case he should see anything that might give him concern for Abû Dharr. (b. Sa'd,

21. 'Alî led Abû Dharr to the prophet on the third evening. (al-Bukhârî, II). (b. 'Abbâs)

22. On the morning of the fourth day 'Alî led Abû Dharr to Mohammed who proclaimed his message to him. Thereupon Abû Dharr accepted Islam. (b. Sa'd, al-Bukhârî, III, b. Hajar, 'Abd al-Barr).

(b. 'Abbâs)

23. Mohammed commanded Abû Dharr:

(a) To return to his tribe and await further orders. (b. 'Abbâs)

(b) To keep their affair secret and to return to his district and to join him on receipt of further orders. (al-Bukhârî, II). (b. 'Abbâs)

(c) To return to his tribe and to conceal his affair from the Meccans. ('Abd al-Barr). (b. 'Abbâs)

(d) To return to his tribe and instruct them until he received further orders from him. (b. Hajar, 'Abd al-Barr). (b. 'Abbâs)

(e) To convert his tribe. (b. Hanbal). (b. 'Abbâs)

(f) To instruct his tribe about him. (b. Sa'd, Muslim). (b. 'Abbâs)

Abû Dharr told Mohammed of his intention to return to his tribe to await the call to battle, when he would rejoin him for he saw that his

tribe (the Quraysh) were against him. (Khufâf)

25. Before Abû Dharr returned to his tribe he proclaimed the tawhîd in the mosque [sic] at Mecca on two consecutive days and was thrashed on both occasions by the Quraysh (the custodians of the Ka'bah). On each occasion al-'Abbâs, an uncle of Mohammed's, protected him from the Quraysh (b. Sa'd al-Bukhârî, II & III, b. Hajar, 'Abd al-Barr).

(b. 'Abbâs)

26. Abû Dharr disturbed a woman at her devotions, whereupon the Quraysh beat him. Some of the Banû Bakr caused the Quraysh to desist from beating him. (Najîh)

27. The Meccans stoned Abû Dharr when he asked after Mohammed. (b. Sa'd, Muslim, b. Hanbal, b. Hajar). (Humayd)

28. Abû Dharr left Mecca and haunted the pass of Ghazâl, where he waylaid and seized the caravans of the Quraysh. Those who accepted Islam received their captured goods again. Those who did not, lost them. (Najîh and Khufâf)

He continued in this manner until after the battles at Badr and Uḥud and then came to the prophet and stayed with him. (Khufâf)

29. Abû Dharr returned to his tribe. Thereupon his brother Unays, his mother and some of the tribesmen accepted Islam. (b. Sa'd, Muslim, b. Hanbal). (Humayd)

30. Abû Dharr returned to his tribe. Thereupon his brother Unays and some of his tribesmen accepted Islam. (b. Hajar). (Humayd)

Recapitulation of the foregoing synopsis

1. Abû Dharr hears of Mohammed.

2. Unays (Humayd) or a Meccan (Najîh) tells Abû Dharr of a man in Mecca who holds his (Abû Dharr's) religion.

3. Abû Dharr finds Mohammed:

(a) After he had sought him for fifteen days in Mecca. (Humayd)

(b) After he had sought him for thirty days in Mecca living on the waters of Zamzam. (Humayd)

(c) In a house together with Abû Bakr. No one accompanied Abû Dharr on this occasion. (Khufâf)

(d) By the Ka'bah where Mohammed with Abû Bakr was performing the circumambulation of the Ka'bah. No one accompanied Abû Dharr on this occasion. (Humayd)

(e) Accompanied by a Hashimite cousin of the prophet ('Alî) who led Abû Dharr to a bench on which Mohammed was sleeping.

(Najîh)

(f) Accompanied by 'Alî who led him to the place where Mohammed was. (b. 'Abbâs)

4. Abû Dharr suffered violence:

(a) At the hands of the Meccans who stoned him when he asked after Mohammed. (Ḥumayd)

(b) At the hands of the Ḳuraysh who thrashed him because he proclaimed the tawḥîd from the Ka'bah. (b. 'Abbâs)

(c) At the hands of the Ḳuraysh who thrashed him because he had disturbed a woman at her devotions. (Najîḥ)

5. Abû Dharr the missionary.

Abû Dharr left Mecca and remained in the pass of Ghazâl where he seized the caravans of the Ḳuraysh, returning the goods he had captured to those who accepted Islam and keeping the possessions of those who refused to accept Islam. (Khufâf and Najîḥ). He continued in this manner until after Badr and Uḥud when he went to Medina and stayed there with the prophet. (Khufâf)

Abû Dharr returned to his tribe, whereupon his mother and some of his tribesmen accepted Islam. (Ḥumayd)

chapter II

AN OUTLINE OF HIS CAREER UP TO A.H. 30

Abû Dharr the Companion of the Prophet

After the wealth of detail in the accounts of Abû Dharr's conversion we are now confronted with the incongruity of the fragmentary reports concerning his being joined in brotherhood by Mohammed, who some months after his removal from Mecca to Medina, A.D. 622, wishing to avoid rivalry between the Emigrants, those who had sheltered him from his own tribe the Quraysh in Mecca, and the Supporters, those who had received and supported him at Medina, joined these two groups in brotherhood, making each Emigrant the brother of a Supporter. These two groups later coalesced as the Companions of the Prophet.

Now Ibn Ishâk (Cairo, 1936, II, 152) tells us that Mohammed joined Abû Dharr to al-Mundhir b. 'Amr of the Banû Sâ'idah b. Ka'b al-Khazraj, one of the two tribes that received and succoured Mohammed at Medina. This being so, Abû Dharr would be one of the Emigrants. But we do not think that this is so.

But al-Wâqidî, quoted by his amanuensis Ibn Sa'd (IIIi, 100, 22 f; IVi, 166, 3 f), questions this, stating that Abû Dharr was not present at Medina at the time in question—adding that Abû Dharr did not come to Mohammed at Medina until after Badr, A.H. 2, Uḥud, A.H. 3 and al-Khandak, A.H. 5 had been fought. But al-Miḡdâd b. al-Aswad, who was not present at Medina at the time of the institution of brotherhood by Mohammed, is nevertheless counted among the Companions of the Prophet (IS IIIi, 114, 9 f and 117, 4 f, cf Ibn Ishâk, Cairo, 1936, IV, 206).

Now Ibn Hishâm, in his redaction of Ibn Ishâk's biography of Mohammed (Cairo, 1936, IV, 206) reports that Mohammed joined Abû Dharr with al-Miḡdâd b. al-Aswad. To add to this confusion Ibn Sa'd (IIIi, 115, 18 f and 114, 9) states that Mohammed joined al-Miḡdâd b. al-Aswad with Jabbâr b. Sakr.

Fortunately there is no need to ponder over al-Wâqidî's questioning Ibn Ishâk, nor to deliberate over the incongruous accounts of Ibn Hishâm and Ibn Sa'd concerning al-Miḡdâd b. al-Aswad, because we

have sought and found evidence on this point that is less vague: we mean the testimony of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, X A.D. 870, whose *Futūḥ Miṣr wa Akbāruha* is the earliest extant document on the conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain. In this book he states that Abū Dharr served in the Egyptian campaign, A.H. 18–21, during which he was allotted to a special formation that was under strength, the *ahl al-rāyah*. Although this unit consisted of various tribes, he was allotted, not to his own tribe, the Banū Ghifār, but to the Honourable Corps of Supporters. This can mean but one thing, namely that Abū Dharr must have been a Supporter, for it is unthinkable that this corps d'élite would have accepted an outsider to their ranks. There remains the problem that Abū Dharr was not born into one of the two tribes, al-Aus and al-Khazraj, who had supported Mohammed on his arrival in Medina from Mecca. But he could have been received by one of these tribes as a confederate, and thus as a brother of every other member of the tribe in question. Now we have seen that Ibn Ishāq reports that Mohammed joined Abū Dharr to al-Mundhir b. 'Amr of the Banū Sā'idah b. Ka'b al-Khazraj. Although al-Wākidī refutes this account, Abū Dharr might have become al-Mundhir's brother by confederacy before the Hegira of A.D. 622. This being so, his alleged absence from Medina at the time in question, would not invalidate such a confederacy, and, as we have seen, al-Miqdād also was away from Medina at the time of the institution of brotherhood between the Emigrants and the Supporters, but was in spite of this included among the Companions.

In any case Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's evidence is not lightly to be turned aside, because it rests on the *dīwān*—the muster rolls maintained by the Army Pay Corps of the day. The paymasters who maintained these nominal rolls would be less likely than others to distort these tendentiously. There is therefore now no reason to doubt that Abū Dharr was one of the Supporters and *ipso facto* a Companion of the Prophet and thus one of the earliest Muslims.

In the accounts of his conversion we find two explanations of Abū Dharr's absence from the battles of Badr, Uḥud and al-Khandaq, sometimes called the Battle of the Moat, namely:

- (1) That Mohammed sent him back to his tribe
- (2) that he attacked the caravans of the Quraysh until after Badr and Uḥud had been fought. The latter would now seem to be plausible.

Although the reports on those who officiated as imām/prayer leader at Medina, A.H. 4–6, are vague, stating that Abū Dharr or some one else officiated thus, we can now at least entertain the possibility of his

having held this office, and have thus a possible explanation of his absence from the Battle of the Moat, A.H. 5.

A word or two on al-Mundhir and al-Miḡdād might here be of interest.

al-Mundhir b. 'Amr was a highly respected man, being mentioned in the list of the twelve community leaders/*nuḡabâ'* whom Mohammed is reported to have sent to Medina before he himself migrated thither, A.D. 622. He fought at Badr and Uḡud and was killed in the action against the Banû Sulaym, A.H. 4, at Bi'r Ma'ūnah.

al-Miḡdād b. al-Aswad was the confederate and adopted son of al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth. He went as a Muslim with the second migration to Abyssinia. On his return he left the Meccans for Medina after the Hegira, although before Badr. He is nevertheless counted among the Companions (I.S. IIIi, 115; IIIii, 149, 24 f). He fought at Badr, Uḡud and al-Khandak and at all other battles with Mohammed. At Mecca, A.H. 8, he commanded the right flank. He died A.H. 33 aged seventy.

Abū Dharr the Imâm, A.H. 4-7

Mohammed, conscious of his leadership of the Muslims, set a good example to the community at Medina as a believer, by performing the ritual prayer/*ṣalât* regularly at the hours appointed. We know that during his lifetime the ritual prayer was celebrated three times a day. On these occasions some of his companions would visit him, knowing that they would find him at home at these hours. These as well as any other visitors who happened to be present joined him in the ceremony, naturally conceding him the leadership. Thus attendance at these meetings was entirely fortuitous, while the weekly congregation on Fridays was binding on all because Mohammed delivered a sermon after the mid-day celebration of the ritual prayer.

Although Caetani (*Annali*, Ili, pp. 522-524) states that Mohammed was the only one who knew how the rite was to be celebrated and that during his lifetime no one ever had the functions of a spiritual *locum tenens*, he asserts that whenever Mohammed had to leave Medina he was in the habit of appointing a representative to direct the ritual prayer. But he omits to tell us that this representative was usually Abū Bakr, who later came to be the first caliph. In common with army commanders and tax-collectors those who were appointed imâm held their appointment only for a specific purpose and for a limited time on the expiry of which each laid his office down and resumed the condition of his fellow believers.

Caetani further supposes that the imâm presided over nothing but

the weekly Friday celebration of the ritual prayer, and that in the *muṣallah*, the place appointed for the ṣalāt—not in the mosque and that he was appointed for the sole purpose of lending order to that ceremony. He further supposes that there was only one weekly congregation of the believers at Medina when Mohammed was absent, but that when he was in residence in the capital he performed the ritual prayer five [sic!] times a day in keeping with his custom and led those that happened to be with him in his courtyard.

A name that recurs frequently in the accounts of those who were appointed imām during Mohammed's absence from Medina, namely Ibn Umm Maktûm, belonged to a very obscure person of whom almost nothing is known—not even his real name, and who besides all this was blind (Ibn Ẓuṭaybah, p. 148). Similar obscurity surrounds the person of Abû Lubâbah, whose name also recurs again and again in this connection. Because of this Caetani is of the opinion that Mohammed intended that the office was to have no importance at all. But surely the fact that the obscure, the blind—even slaves and freedmen could hold the office of imām is in itself instinct with significance, namely that the office of imām was one whose functions the humblest of believers could perform—but we must suppose that those chosen were known to the community for their piety. Caetani seems to overlook the fact that it was Abû Bakr, Mohammed's right-hand man, immortalised as "the second of two" (Koran, IX, 40) that usually held that office during Mohammed's absence from Medina and that the distinction of his conducting the ṣalāt in the mosque during Mohammed's last illness made it possible for 'Umar and his friends to propose Abû Bakr as the head of the community after the prophet's death on the 8th June 632, and that 'Uthmân, Mohammed's son-in-law and the third caliph, is reported to have held the office of imām during the prophet's lifetime.

Against this background we can now consider the accounts of Ibn Hishâm (X A.D. 833) who tells us quite laconically that Mohammed appointed 'Uthmân b. 'Affân or Abû Dharr imām while he was absent from Medina conducting the action against Dhât al-Rja' A.H. 4 (p. 687) and that during his absence from Medina leading his troops against the Banû 'l-Muṣṭalik of Khuzâ'ah he appointed Numaylah b. 'Abdullah al-Laythî or Abû Dharr imām, A.H. 6 (p. 737). These terse reports as well as the lists of imâms given by Ibn Ishâq, (662; 687; 725) show quite plainly that on these, as also on certain other occasions it is not known definitely who officiated as imām during Mohammed's absence from Medina.

The vagueness inherent in the statements that so-and-so or so-and-so officiated as imâm during Mohammed's absence from Medina is enhanced by the fact that Ibn Hishâm's notes on Ibn Ishâk's biography of Mohammed are largely of little use historically by reason of the fact that they stem from Abû 'Ubaydah of Ibn al-Kalbî. Moreover, since a lacuna of some seventy five years lies between the early days of Islam and the work of Zuhri with whom systematic work on the biography of Mohammed began, it is clear that the traditionists of the third century after the Hegira, A.D. 622, had little knowledge of those who used to stand in Mohammed's stead at the celebration of the ritual prayer.¹

One can think of reasons why Ibn Hishâm might have wished to suppress the mention of 'Uthmân b. 'Affân as a representative of Mohammed, firstly that he wrote during the caliphate of the pro-'Alid, 'Abbâsid caliph al-Ma'mûn (813–833) on account of which his endeavours in his redaction of Ibn Ishâk's biography of Mohammed are plainly directed towards the elevation of 'Alî as far as possible above his contemporaries and approximating him to Mohammed, and secondly that the mention of a Qurayshite as an imâm under Mohammed ('Uthmân was of the Umayyad branch of the Quraysh, Mohammed's bitterest enemies and the last to accept Islam) would offend the descendants of the Anşâr, the conquerors of Badr—and yet he did not shrink from placing 'Uthmân among the prayer leaders.

Ibn Hishâm must have been acquainted with the accounts of the confrontation of Abû Dharr with 'Uthmân A.H. 30, through which the former came to be regarded as a supporter of 'Alî, who led the mutiny against 'Uthmân. But although he could have employed these to redound to 'Alî's stature and to denigrate 'Uthmân in common with other partisans of 'Alî, he completely ignores them. One can but think that the insertion into the biography of Mohammed of this brief note containing the juxtaposition of the names of two men of whom one was counted to be an enemy of 'Alî, while the other was counted to be one of his supporters, must have been an act of boldness on the part of Ibn Hishâm in view of the pro-'Alid proclivity of the caliph al-Ma'mûn. We may then, perhaps, form the opinion that the account was too striking to be suppressed, although it does not state definitely which of the two actually did officiate as imâm on this occasion and that he

¹ That al-Wâqidî (p. 267) states that Abû Dharr was not the imâm during the action at Khaybar, A.H. 7, but Sibî'b. 'Urfuṭah al-Ghifârî shows that on that occasion also there was a difference of opinion concerning the identity of the imâm.

considered the wrongly maligned 'Uthmân together with Abû Dharr to belong to the *typus* of the pious that Mohammed habitually chose to represent him.

The circumstance that no one knew definitely the name of the imâm on certain occasions made it possible for the partisans of 'Alî who held Abû Dharr to be one of the earliest converts to Islam and a saint to insert his name in the accounts under review—and that may have happened here. But in spite of the paucity of clarity, possibly also of historicity, in the accounts of those whom Mohammed appointed imâm during his absence from Medina during the ten years after his taking up residence in that city, A.D. 622, we must welcome the statement that on a certain occasion it was either 'Uthmân b. 'Affân or Abû Dharr as a facet of the image of Abû Dharr in the light of the hagiography of Islam, for here we have a cameo of the two figures that most concern us in this essay, that points to the godfearing character of both during the lifetime of Mohammed—and the tradition shows that this character persisted through the caliphate of Abû Bakr as well as that of 'Umar, and that even when 'Uthmân had become caliph and Abû Dharr was a source of embarrassment to him there were those who ascribed piety to both of them, although the partisans of 'Alî would have us believe that 'Uthmân caused Abû Dharr to be badly treated before banishing him.

al-Ghâbah A.H. 6

A raid by the Ghatafân under 'Uyaynah with forty riders, on the milch camels of the prophet in the grazing grounds of al-Ghâbah led to a veritable gathering of heroes including Abû Dharr—at least that is what the traditionists would have us believe. On the night of this raid, during which Abû Dharr's son is said to have been killed, eight companions of Mohammed mounted their chargers on hearing of the attack and fell upon the enemy whom they were able to put to flight before the arrival of Mohammed's warriors on the spot. Ten of the twenty captured camels were regained by force of arms. These eight Joshua-like supermen who alone put forty to flight were, according to the accounts:

1. al-Mikdâd b. 'Amr called al-Aswad.
2. 'Abbâd b. Bishr of the Banû 'Abd al-Hashal.
3. Usayd b. Zubayr of the Banû Hârithah.
4. Uqqâhâ b. Mihsan.

5. Mukhris b. Nadhlah, both of the Banû Hasad b. Khuzaymah.
6. Abbu 'Ayyâsh 'Ubayd b. al-Şâmit.
7. Abû Katâdah al-Hârith b. Rib'î.
8. Sa'd b. Zayd on whom the command devolved from the prophet (al-Wâkidî, pp. 227–231; Ibn Ishâk, pp. 719–725).

According to the accounts Abû Dharr played no great part in this event, if indeed, he was there at all, which the following examination of the sources draws into question. Ibn Ishâk (pp. 719–723) reports that 'Uyaynah fell on the prophet's milch camels at al-Ghâbah, a spot some four miles distant from Medina in the direction of Syria, killed the Ghifârî, who is not mentioned by name, who was watching the camels and carried his wife away with the camels and that she later escaped on a she-camel of Mohammed's.

According to al-Wâkidî (p. 228) the man who was watching the prophet's milch camels at al-Ghâbah was the son of Abû Dharr. The following words are put into the mouth of Abû Dharr: After the animals had been rounded up at night, watered and milked, we lay down and went to sleep. Then suddenly 'Uyaynah fell upon us with forty riders. My son came forth and was killed. His wife and three other persons escaped.

Muhammad b. al-Faql b. 'Ubayd b. Râfi' b. Khudayj said of this affair: When Mohammed was in Medina once more Abû Dharr's wife came riding up on his (Mohammed's) she-camel al-Ḳaswâ. This adds to the confusion. The scrutiny of these sources reveals an attempt on the part of the traditionaries to include not only Abû Dharr among those present at this action but also his son and a woman of whom it is not known whether she was the wife of Abû Dharr or that of his son.

The following are reported to have been present at that action:

1. A man of the Ghifâr who had his wife with him (Ibn Ishâk, p. 768).
2. A shepherd and Abû Dharr (al-Wâkidî, p. 228).
3. Abû Dharr; his son; Abû Dharr's son's wife and three other persons (al-Wâkidî, p. 28).
4. Abû Dharr and his son (Ibn Sa'd, Iii, p. 58).

Those reported to have been killed are:

1. The unnamed shepherd (Ibn Ishâk, p. 719).
2. Abû Dharr's son (al-Wâkidî, p. 228).

Those reported to have escaped are:

1. The wife of the unnamed Ghifârî (Ibn Ishâk, p. 723).
2. Abû Dharr's wife (al-Wâkidî, p. 228).

Whoever the Ghifârî was, whom the forty riders killed, he was not

Abû Dharr, who lived for some twenty five years after this action. It is clear too, from the above welter of details that nobody knew the identity of the woman that was carried off—or that of the shepherd who was killed. Ibn Ḥajar in his *Kitâb al-Iṣābah*, II, p. 171 draws attention to the fact that neither Ibn Ishâk nor Muslim mentions by his name the shepherd that was allegedly killed in this raid on Mohammed's milch camels and that Ibn Sa'd reports that Abû Dharr's son was killed in this engagement as though he were the shepherd in question. Ibn Ḥajar's report, just quoted, refers to Abû Dharr's son as Dharr the son of Abû Dharr. It is interesting to note in passing, that there are Muslims¹ in Persia who trace their descent from Abû Dharr through this same Dharr b. abî Dharr and that there recently existed for some years in Tehran an Abû Dharr club.

To hark back to the point under discussion, we must conclude that the conflicting reports on the raid at al-Ghâbah are insufficient evidence to prove that Abû Dharr was present at that action or that his son was killed there. The unnamed herdsman of Ibn Ishâk's report must therefore remain incognito.

The obscurity that surrounds the early part of Abû Dharr's career engulfs also the figure of his son. Ibn Ḳutaybah in his *Kitâb al-ma'ârif*, I, p. 130 states that Abû Dharr died without posterity. The same is asserted by al-Isbahânî in his *Ḥilyat al-awliyâ'*, p. 160. But al-Kashshî mentions in his *Ma'rifat akhbâr al-rijâl*, p. 17 a son of Abû Dharr's by the name of 'Abdulmalik.

The Occupation of Mecca A.H. 8

Hagiographic

al-Ṭabarî,- Ta'rikh al-rusul wa 'l-mulûk, III, 2328, 2

Here follows an account of Abû Dharr's missionary zeal at Mecca on its being invested by Mohammed (A.H. 8). It is an example of Erbauungsliteratur such as Ḥumayd b. Hilâl's account of Abû Dharr's conversion, except perhaps that the details are neither exaggerated nor ridiculous. The story as it stands does not offend one's intelligence. It may rest on the late tradition given by al-Dhahabî (X A.D. 1348) in his *Ta'rikh al-Islâm*, p. 111, 10 according to which the caliph 'Umar (634–644) placed Abû Dharr among the Koran reciters. Here we see Abû Dharr in the rôle of a Koran reciter, (compare our Army Scripture

¹The present writer stands in correspondence with these gentlemen.

Readers in the field) some years before 'Umar became caliph. (We have put the account into the third person).

Ḥuwayṭib b. 'Abdul'uzzā was greatly upset when the apostle of God marched into Mecca in the Year of Victory (A.H. 8). So he forsook his house and found shelter for his family in a number of different places where they were in safe keeping. This done he went to 'Awf's garden and stayed there. There he met Abū Dharr. Between them both there yawned a great gulf that Ḥuwayṭib in his present predicament found to be of great use. For as soon as he caught sight of Abū Dharr he ran away from him. So Abū Dharr cried out after him by his name. To this he replied: At your service/labbayka. Then Abū Dharr asked him what was the matter with him. So he opened up his fears to him. To this Abū Dharr replied that there were no grounds for anxiety seeing that he trusted in God. At that he went up to Abū Dharr and greeted him, who told him that he was going to make his way back to his dwelling. To this Ḥuwayṭib replied by asking whether there were any way by which he could get home, for he could not imagine himself getting home without being attacked and killed, or if he got home at all, without being murdered there. He added that his dependants were scattered in various places. On hearing this Abū Dharr told him to assemble his family in one place and promised that he would take him home. Then Abū Dharr accompanied him and shouted out before the door of his house, that Ḥuwayṭib was a believer and that this should be no occasion for folly/falā yuhaj. Then Abū Dharr went to Mohammed and related the matter to him. The latter replied that he had granted safe conduct to all the people except those whose execution he had explicitly commanded. Ḥuwayṭib then declared that that set him at ease and retrieved his family from their hiding places. Then Abū Dharr went back to him and asked him how long he had led troops on the field of battle, adding that much had been given to him to eat and that much had been left over. He then urged him to come to Mohammed and be converted. So he agreed to go with him, so Abū Dharr accompanied him to Mohammed who was with Abū Bakr and 'Umar in the Baṭḥā' (the valley in the middle and deepest point of the Baṭn Makkah). On the way Ḥuwayṭib asked Abū Dharr how one greeted Mohammed. So he told him to say: Peace be with thee and God's mercy, O apostle of God! So Ḥuwayṭib greeted Mohammed thus, and the latter replied: And peace be with thee Ḥuwayṭib. At this Ḥuwayṭib said: I testify that there is no god but God and that thou art His messenger. Thereupon Mohammed exclaimed: Praised be God Who hath led thee aright.

Mohammed was glad at Huwaytib's greeting and sought a loan from him. So he lent him forty thousand dirhams. Huwaytib fought under Mohammed at Hunayn A.H. 8 and at Tā'if. Mohammed made him a gift of a hundred camels at Hunayn.

Hunayn A.H. 8

al-Wākidī, - Wellhausen, J. - Muhammad in Medina, p. 358

al-Wākidī states that the Banū Ghifār stood three hundred strong with a colour bearer at the battle of Hunayn. This standard bearer is said to have been Abū Dharr, or, according to others Īmā' b. Raḥḍah, whose acquaintance we have already made during the examination of our materials on Abū Dharr's conversion. This laconic utterance of al-Wākidī is just as vague as Ibn Hishām's notes on Abū Dharr's alleged officiation as prayer leader at Medina A.H. 4-6 during Mohammed's absence. But Abū Yūsuf (X A.D. 813) produces in his Kitāb al-kharāj which he wrote for the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, a note that rings like good coin, namely: I (Abū Dharr) and my brother were present at Hunayn. We had there two horses of our own. The apostle of God gave us six portions of the booty, that is, four for the horses and two for us. We sold all six portions. Now since it was the colour bearer's duty to protect the colours at the cost of his life if need be (Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber zur Zeit der Omayyaden nach Tabari*, Kiel, 1921), we wonder why Abū Dharr received no more than his brother of the loot accruing from the battle, seeing that it is not said of his brother that he had been distinguished as the colour bearer of another company; in fact we wonder whether he did carry the colour during this encounter, although we accept Abū Yūsuf's note just reproduced above. The office of the standard bearer was not, as was the function of prayer leader, given to persons of no account. For instance, Abū Bakr the first caliph is said to have borne the colours, that is the main black banner at Tabūk (p. 176), 'Alī carried the banner during the charge on Khaybar, A.H. 8.

Tabūk A.H. 9

Ibn Ishāq, - Sīrat Rasūl Allāh, pp. 894 ff

We turn now to the account of Abū Dharr's alleged participation in the campaign against the Christian Arabs at Tabūk. We read that Mohammed ordered his companions to prepare for a raid on the Byzantine Christians of Tabūk at a time when men were hard pressed

by reason of oppressive heat and a prevailing drought. Fruit was ripe, so the men wanted to stay in the shade and enjoy their fruit, and disliked the prospect of riding during that season. A number of Bedouin came to Mohammed to offer their apologies for not joining in, but God would not accept their excuses. These men belonged to the Banû Ghifâr. One of these was Khufâf b. Îmâ' b. Raḥḍah. The disaffected said one to another: Sally not forth in the heat, disliking strenuous war, doubting the truth and creating misgivings about the apostle. So God sent down a revelation concerning them, namely: They who were left at home were delighted to stay behind God's apostle, and were averse from contending with their riches and their persons for the cause of God, and said, March not out in the heat. Say: A fiercer heat will be the fire of Hell. Would that they understood this. Little, therefore, let them laugh, and much let them weep, as the meed of their doings! (Koran, IX, 82, Rodwell, p. 479).

Now Mohammed nearly always made an allusion to the destination of any campaign that he undertook, but announced that he was making for a place other than that which he actually intended. This was the sole exception, for he stated plainly that he was about to march on the Byzantine Christians because the journey was long, the time of the year fraught with difficulties and the enemy in great strength, so that the men might make suitable preparations. He ordered them to get ready and told them that he was going to set out for the Byzantines. So the men got ready in spite of their dislike of the journey itself, to say nothing of their respect for the reputation of the Byzantines (al-Ṭabarî, p. 1692). The Muslims who followed him were great in number so he did not enrol them in a register. The few who wished to absent themselves thought that they would conceal it from him so long as no revelation came down from God concerning it. There were about eighty of them. Now there were some Muslims who were slow to make up their minds, so that they stayed behind without, however, entertaining any doubt or misgivings. These were: Ka'b b. Mâlik b. Ka'b the brother of Ibn Salimah; Murârah b. al-Rabî' the brother of Ibn 'Amr b. 'Awf; Hilâl b. Umayyah the brother of Ibn Wâḳif; Abû Khaythamah the brother of Ibn Sâlim b. 'Awf—these were loyal men whose Islam was above suspicion. Ibn Sa'd (II, p. 119, 24) adds Abû Dharr to this list of Mr. Doubtfuls and reports that Abû Dharr overtook Mohammed at Tabûk, not *en route*.

Some days after Mohammed had set out Abû Khaythamah saddled his camel and went out in search of the apostle until he overtook him

in Tabūk. While he was approaching Mohammed as the same was making a halt at Tabūk the army called his attention to a man riding in the way, whereupon the apostle said that it would be Abū Khaythamah—and so it was. Having dismounted he came and greeted Mohammed, who said: Woe to thee, Abū Khaythamah! Then he told Mohammed what had happened, so he spoke him well and blessed him. We must here note that according to Ibn Sa'd (III, 119, 21–24) Abū Dharr was with Abū Khaythamah when the same came up with Mohammed's army at Tabūk. Then the apostle continued his journey (after this halt which he had allowed in order to find his camel which had strayed) and men began to fall out on the line of march. When Mohammed was informed that so-and-so had dropped behind he said: Let him be; for if there be any good in him God will join him to you; if not, God hath rid you of him. Finally it was reported that Abū Dharr had dropped behind and that his camel had delayed him. Here we must observe that, according to Ibn Sa'd Abū Dharr, as also Abū Khaythamah, did not march with the column, because they did not overtake it until it had reached its destination—Tabūk. The apostle said the same words. Abū Dharr waited on his camel and when it walked slowly with him he took his gear and put it on his own back and set off walking in the track of Mohammed's army. The army halted at one of his halting places when a man called his attention to someone walking alone in the way. Mohammed said that he hoped it was Abū Dharr and after the troops had looked carefully they said that it was he indeed. Thereupon Mohammed said: "God have mercy on Abū Dharr. He walketh alone, will die alone and be raised alone."

We turn now to the account according to al-Wāḳidī and the brief note on this subject preserved by Ibn Sa'd who was the former's amanuensis. al-Wāḳidī relates the matter thus: After the departure from Medina Mohammed halted on the following day at Dhū Khushub under the palm trees. He had the Khuza'ite 'Alḳamah b. al-Sa'wa with him as his guide. Not before the evening did he press on because of the great heat. For the same reason he put the mid-day ritual prayer together with the evening prayer during the entire march (cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, I, 144–145; 165; II, 318). The places at which he performed the ritual prayer on the line of march are: 1. Dhū Khushub, 2. al-Fayfah, 3. al-Marwah, 4. al-Shiḳḳah, 5. Wādi 'l-Ḳurah, 6. al-Hijr, 7. Dhanab Hawdah Shiḳḳ, 8. Tara in the vicinity of Jawbar, 9. Dhāt al-Khitmi, 10. Samanah, 11. al-Akhḍar, 12. Dhāt al-Zirāb, 13. al-Midran, 14. Tabūk—a march of fourteen days.

When Mohammed's attention was drawn on the eminence from which he departed in the evening (after the mid-day halt because of the heat from Dhû Khushub, the first halting place) to the fact that So-and-so was straggling behind, he said: Let him be; if there be anything (good) in him, God will let him overtake us. Otherwise he will rid you of him. In the meantime a number of hypocrites accompanied (the army) who sought nothing but loot. Abû Dharr remained behind for a few days in order to feed his emaciated camel. Then he rode after the army. At al-Marwah, the third halting place, however, it was impossible to make the animal proceed any further. He was obliged therefore, to dismount, put his equipment on his back and make his way on foot in terrible heat. One day at noon, when the army would be resting, Mohammed caught sight of him (Ibn Ishâk places this after the halt made at the sixth halting place, *al-Hijr*, pp. 899–900) and said that he supposed that it must be Abû Dharr (cf. Wright, W.- Arabic Grammar, II, p. 44, 17). When it was ascertained that it was indeed Abû Dharr he exclaimed: "God have mercy on Abû Dharr. He goeth alone; dieth alone and is raised alone" (cf. Zotenberg, III, p. 459). After Abû Dharr had reported to him and explained the reason for his delay, Mohammed said: "For every pace that thou hast taken, God has forgiven you a sin." (Compare this treatment with that accorded to Abû Khaythamah in the foregoing account according to Ibn Ishâk). Then Abû Dharr took his equipment from his back and threw himself half dead from thirst on the ground. A vessel of water was brought to him which he drank. (*al-Wâkidî*, *Muḥammad at Medina*, p. 394, cf. Ibn Ishâk, pp. 900–901).

In this account the excuse for Abû Dharr's delay is not that he was slow to make his mind up to accompany Mohammed's army, the excuse put forth by Ibn Ishâk, but that his camel succumbed to the difficulties of the journey during the first stage of the march, which caused him to stay behind for a few days in order to feed it. After thus dallying for a few days he is said to have followed the army on foot from the third halting place (where presumably he left his camel) and to have overtaken the army, after a delay of some days, on a march completed by the mounted army in fourteen daily stages!

Let us consider the march in detail. The army that marched on Tabûk consisted of thirty thousand men of whom ten thousand were cavalry. The rest seems to have consisted of camelry. The march was completed in fourteen stages at the rate of one stage a day. The army rested during the heat of the day, that is, from noon till sunset. The mid-day prayer was dispensed with for the duration of the march and deferred till the

cool of the evening when the march was resumed. At the first halting place an unnamed person was observed to be straggling behind. Abû Dharr, who might have been this unnamed person, stayed behind at the first halting place before proceeding to the third halting place, where he had to leave his camel behind. From the third halting place he followed the army on foot, carrying his gear on his back. One day at noon he overtook the army at one of the halting places.

Abû Khaythamah riding alone overtook the army at Tabûk as it halted there. (According to Ibn Sa'd, *Ili*, 119, 21–24, Abû Khaythamah accompanied by Abû Dharr overtook the army at Tabûk). Mohammed stayed ten nights at Tabûk according to Ibn Ishâq, p. 901, but twenty nights according to Ibn Sa'd, *Ili*, p. 119. Both Abû Khaythamah and Abû Dharr had been slow to make their mind up to join Mohammed's army on this expedition—yet Abû Dharr is reported as a straggler at the end of the first stage of the march, that is, if the unnamed person was indeed Abû Dharr. If Mohammed's army stayed twenty or only ten nights at Tabûk, Abû Khaythamah travelling on a camel might have been able to catch up with it there, but it is difficult to believe that Abû Dharr stayed behind for some days at the first halting place, made his way on his camel to the third place of halting and then overtook the army of camelry and cavalry on foot. Here we seem to have another case of *So-and-so* or *So-and-so* which we have already encountered in the accounts of Abû Dharr's alleged officiation as prayer leader in Medina A.H. 4–6 as well as in the accounts of his reported presence at al-Ghâbah A.H. 6—at Khaybar A.H. 7—of his being standard bearer at Hunayn A.H. 8, for there seems to be the possibility of confusing Abû Dharr with Abû Khaythamah. In fact we seem to have here another example of that form of reporting that we find in Humayd b. Hilâl's account of Abû Dharr's conversion, for this one also contains details hard to believe, for how, as Caetani asks (*Annali*, *Ili*, p. 245), can one believe that a man marching on foot with his equipment on his back could overtake an army of cavalry engaged in a forced march through barren, waterless terrain—after having tarried for some days to boot at the first of fourteen stages? Mohammed's alleged utterance: God have mercy on Abû Dharr, which may somewhere have passed his lips may possibly be the cause of the later elaboration of this story.

One may detect in the utterance that Abû Dharr walks alone, dies alone and is resurrected alone, the reflection of the popular image of the caliph 'Umar, who also was considered to be a very pious man, for when Hurmuzân was taken prisoner he saw 'Umar sleeping by himself and

asked who he was. On hearing that it was the Commander of the Faithful, he expressed his surprise that the 'king of the Arabs' was there sleeping all alone. On this he was told that 'Umar always went about alone; was always alone and slept alone. (Zotenberg, III, p. 459). But this may have been said of 'Umar to co-ordinate his image with the later, ideal concept of a Muslim saint—and Mohammed's utterance on Abû Dharr's solitary nature may have had the same basis.

To hark back to the problem of Abû Dharr's participation in the march on Tabûk, we find Ibn Sa'd's account to be the most plausible. He does not shrink from placing Abû Dharr among those who were slow to show their loyalty to Mohammed in this matter, as does Ibn Ishâk, and he makes Abû Dharr together with Abû Khaythamah overtake the army, at the end of the march on Tabûk, presumably during the twenty nights that the army stayed there, and not just at the end of the march, as Ibn Ishâk would have us believe.

al-Wâqidî died A.D. 822 and his amanuensis Ibn Sa'd A.D. 845.

Ibn Ishâk died A.D. 767 and his commentator Ibn Hishâm A.D. 834.

The Hidden Years, A.H. 9–30

Here we bring together the fragments that break the silence on Abû Dharr during the period A.H. 9–A.H. 30.

The reports of Abu Dharr's presence at Khaybar, A.H. 8 and at Tabûk, A.H. 9 are the only ones emanating during Mohammed's lifetime to which any degree of historicity attaches.

On Mohammed's demise, A.H. 11, Abû Dharr is said to have refused to swear allegiance to Abû Bakr and to have gone over to 'Alî's side. This pious invention we have relegated to the section on Abû Dharr's relations to the faction of 'Alî. Apart from this nothing is known of Abû Dharr's whereabouts and doings during the caliphate of Abû Bakr.

Abû Dharr is made to spend the caliphate of 'Umar, A.H. 13–23 in Syria by al-Ṭabarî (Persian version), Zotenberg, III, 567, Ibn al-Athîr, X A.D. 1234, Usd al-Ghâbah, I, 301, and al-Shushtarî, X A.D. 1610, Majâlis al-mu'minîn, f. 44. Against this Ibn Sa'd, X A.D. 845, produces a tradition according to which 'Umar kept Abû Dharr at Medina till the former's death, A.H. 23. I.S. Iii, 100, 11.

Against all this Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, X A.D. 871, who gives us, in his work Futûḥ Miṣr the earliest surviving account of the conquest of Egypt, reports (p. 94, 4) Abû Dharr present with 'Umar's army in Egypt, A.H. 18–21. This last account we are inclined to regard as historical, because Abû Dharr was borne on the rolls of the paymaster

in Egypt, however, not as one might expect, on the strength of his own tribe the Banû Ghifâr, but on that of the honourable corps of Supporters: This we have already seen above.

A.H. 17

Ibn Sa'd (IVi, p. 14)

Abû Dharr's reputation as an authority on things religious is alleged in a report from Medina concerning the enlargement of the mosque there A.H. 17 by the caliph 'Umar. The caliph decided on this alteration on the strength of various traditions resting on the authority of Mohammed, and took steps that it should so be brought about as Mohammed himself might have wished it—that is, the enlargement was to be carried out in the direction of the *qiblah*.¹ In order to provide space for this purpose 'Umar proposed to demolish certain buildings in the vicinity. The only house to be spared was that of Fāṭimah, Mohammed's daughter. The house of Mohammed's uncle al-'Abbās b. 'Abdulmuṭṭalib also stood in the way, but he held it as an *enfeoffment* from Mohammed and refused therefore to comply with the caliph's proposals according to which he would have been compensated from public funds for the loss of his property. The proposals were that he should give it in exchange for a house in Medina—or present it as alms to the community. Both parties chose Ubaiy b. Ka'b as arbitrator and he appealed to a tradition against the caliph. This tradition, which he claimed to have heard from Mohammed himself, referred to the building of the temple at Jerusalem and stated that God had exhorted David [*sic*] against doing violence to those proprietors who did not voluntarily give their houses up in order to make room for the temple. (David's son Solomon is meant). Ubaiy's decision did not please 'Umar, who had never heard anything like it from Mohammed, so he took him to the mosque and made him repeat his tradition before certain companions of the prophet. Abû Dharr and another of the companions supported Ubaiy. So the caliph 'Umar promised al-'Abbās that he would not pursue the matter any further. Thereupon al-'Abbās immediately gave his house as alms to the community.

Ibn Sa'd's account lends prominence to the allegation that one companion of the prophet after another hastened to aver that he had heard this tradition from Mohammed after Abû Dharr had declared thus to have heard it. (cf. Caetani, *Annali*, IIIi, para. 190).

¹ That is, in the direction of the Ka'bah.

Ibn Sa'd (Iii, p. 100, 11–14) further tells us that 'Umar during his lifetime did not allow 'Abdullah b. Mas'ūd, noted for his piety and as a traditionist, Abū 'l-Darda', also renowned for his godliness and religious knowledge, and Abū Dharr to leave Medina. But we find him in Egypt A.H. 18, and in Amorium A.H. 23. cf. *Futūḥ Miṣr*, p. 94, 4.

The Egyptian Campaign, A.H. 18–21

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa Akbāruha*, pp. 94 ff.

According to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Abū Dharr was present at the action at Heliopolis, A.H. 19, at the siege of the citadel of Babylon which fell A.H. 20 and at Alexandria, A.H. 21. In the same year he was posted to the garrison at al-Fuṣṭāṭ, now called Old Cairo. There he was allotted, not to his own tribe, the Banū Ghifār, but taken on the strength of the Honourable Corps of Supporters/*anṣār*. His position in this *corps d'élite* may, perhaps, be judged by the fact that he there dwelt in his own house near the mosque. Since this stands in contradiction of the accounts of his renunciation of this base world and its ephemeral goods, we see that we are not dealing with tendentious hagiography. In fact the testimony of our source rests on the muster rolls/*dîwān* drawn up by pragmatic paymasters at an army field records centre. Seeing that the caliph 'Umar had established an exchequer at Medina, A.H. 20, where field records and pay accounts were maintained, the muster roll of the Supporters would have been prepared with all the efficiency of new brooms, who would have taken great pains to avoid the wrath of the proverbially irate caliph 'Umar. And the entry in the nominal roll of this august body of a man from a tribe that the Prophet had never praised without properly vouched for authority is just such a bloomer that would have occasioned not only his wrath but also that of the *corps d'élite* in question. The entry of Abū Dharr's name in this list is therefore not to be brushed aside as a clerical error—or as a piece of tendentious reporting.

That Abū Dharr was not born into one of the two tribes al-Aus and al-Khazraj does not pose any great problem, because not all the Supporters belonged to these tribes, and he could have been received by one of them as a confederate and thus as the brother of every other member of the tribe that adopted him. In any case there must have been a valid reason known to those that maintained the muster rolls for Abū Dharr's inclusion in the nominal roll of the Supporters, and

this can not be other than that he was indeed a Supporter. The fact that he was entered in the nominal roll of the Supporters some twenty years after the Hegira betokens a continued relationship with them.

Abû Dharr's Service under Mu'âwiyah

According to al-Ṭabarî (Iiii, 2737; 2798; Iv, 2820) Abû Dharr and 'Ubâdah b. al-Şâmit were with the army commanded by Mu'âwiyah with which he took Amorium, A.H. 23 and with the sea and land forces with which he captured Cyprus, A.H. 28. al-Ṭabarî reports this as hearsay, using the formula: *fî mâ dhukira*/according to that which was said. In the use of this formula one may possibly detect al-Ṭabarî's embarrassment at this information, because he places himself among those that excuse Mu'âwiyah in the matter of his sending Abû Dharr from Damascus to the caliph 'Uthmân at Medina, A.H. 30.

We have already seen that Abû Dharr was stationed with the Supporters of the Prophet in Egypt A.H. 18–21. Egypt may possibly have been Abû Dharr's station until A.H. 28. Transport from Egypt to Asia Minor would have presented no problem in view of the existence of the fleet.

Now according to al-Suyûtî (Jarrett's translation, pp. 159–160) 'Ubâdah b. al-Şâmit was one of the Companions of the Prophet sent by 'Umar to Syria at the time of the conquest, A.H. 13, to teach the people the Koran. If one may place any confidence in the testimony of a witness of the fourteenth century, namely al-Dhahabî, X A.D. 1348, one may ask whether Abû Dharr accompanied 'Ubâdah al-Şâmit to Syria, A.H. 13, because al-Balâdhurî (*Ansâb al-Ashrâf*, V, 52) says that Abû Dharr's station was Syria, when he was not absent from it on a pilgrimage. This being so, the late accounts of Abû Dharr's spending in Syria the caliphate of 'Umar (A.H. 13–23) might be true for the period from A.H. 13 to A.H. 18, after which we find him in Egypt.

It may be useful to notice in passing that Ka'b al-ḥabr, alias al-aḥbâr, also was with Abû Dharr and 'Ubâdah b. al-Şâmit on the isle of Cyprus, A.H. 28 (al-Balâdhurî, *Futûḥ al-buldân*, p. 154, cf. al-Ṭabarî, Iv, 2820).

Synopsis

To complement the outlines written by Wensinck and Robson as well as the sketch by Sir William Muir and other fragments, we now arrange in order of the dates ascribed to them outlines of the traditions concerning Abû Dharr during the first thirty one years of Islam. The fragments

concerning his reported activities during the first twenty years of Islam are in part mutually contradictory and would seem to be in part hagiographic, but some of them have the appearance of historical notes, for instance, Abû Yûsuf's note on the battle of Hunayn, A.H. 8 and that of Ibn Sa'd, which makes Abû Dharr overtake Mohammed's army after its arrival at Tabûk, A.H. 9. Historically, therefore, one might, *à la façon de* John Oxenham, call the periods A.H. 1–7 and 10–17 the hidden years. But the last twelve years of his life are better documented historically. For instance, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam reports him present with 'Umar's army in Egypt A.H. 18–21, while al-Ṭabarî produces notes on his service in the armies of Mu'āwiyah at Amorium, A.H. 23 and at Cyprus, A.H. 28 as also a detailed account of his activities at Damascus, A.H. 30 and a description of his death and burial at al-Rabadhah toward the end of A.H. 31.

According to some of the accounts of his conversion this took place at Mecca before Mohammed's removal/Hegira, A.D. 622. Afterwards Abû Dharr returned to his tribe according to some accounts, while, according to others, he raided the caravans of Mohammed's enemies and kinsmen the Quraysh until after the battle of al-Khandak had been fought, A.H. 5, after which he rejoined Mohammed.

Ibn Ishâq, X A.D. 768, the writer of the biography of Mohammed, *Sîrat rasûl Allâh*, reports that Mohammed joined Abû Dharr in brotherhood with al-Mundhir b. 'Amr at Medina some months after the Hegira. Although al-Wâqidî, X A.D. 822, the historian of Mohammed's battles refutes this on the grounds that Abû Dharr was not present in Medina at the time in question, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, X A.D. 870, shows that Abû Dharr served with the Supporters of the Prophet in Egypt, A.H. 18–21. Accordingly he must have been one of the Supporters and therefore an early convert. He might have become al-Mundhir's brother through confederacy with his tribe before the Hegira.

Ibn Ishâq makes Abû Dharr or some one else officiate as prayer leader/imâm at Medina during Mohammed's absence, A.H. 4 and A.H. 6. This clashes with al-Wâqidî's report that Abû Dharr did not rejoin Mohammed until after the battle of al-Khandak, A.H. 5.

Ibn Ishâq, al-Wâqidî and Ibn Sa'd X A.D. 845 all report Abû Dharr present at the raid on Mohammed's camels at al-Ghâbah, A.H. 6.

al-Wâqidî denies that Abû Dharr officiated as prayer leader at Medina during the action at Khaybar, A.H. 7, further he tells us that Abû Dharr—or some one else—carried the colours at the action at Hunayn, A.H. 8. But Abû Yûsuf, X A.D. 813, who wrote the legalistic work, *Kitâb al-*

Kharāj at the behest of Hārūn al-rashīd, reports Abū Dharr and his brother present at the action at Hunayn. This, as we have remarked above, would seem to be the first, firm, historical note that we have.

al-Ṭabarī, X A.D. 923, gives a hagiographic account of Abū Dharr's missionary activity at Mecca, A.H. 8, the year in which Abū Dharr's tribe the Banū Ghifār accepted Islam.

Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāḳidī and Ibn Sa'd reproduce a hagiographic account of Abū Dharr's straggling after Mohammed's army on the march to Tabūk, A.H. 9, part of which might be plausible.

al-Ya'kūbī, X A.D. 897, surprisingly makes Abū Dharr one of the original faction of 'Alī formed during the uproar over the question of succession arising on the death of Mohammed on 8th June, A.D. 632. Apart from this we have not found any other information on Abū Dharr during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, A.H. 11–13.

al-Ṭabarī (Persian version), Ibn al-Athīr, X A.D. 1234 and al-Shushtarī, X A.D. 1610, make Abū Dharr spend the caliphate of 'Umar, A.H. 13–23 in Syria.

But Ibn Sa'd produces a tradition according to which 'Umar kept Abū Dharr at Medina till the former's death A.H. 23.

Against this Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, X A.D. 871, who gives us the earliest surviving account of the conquest of Egypt, reports Abū Dharr present with the army in Egypt, A.H. 18–21. This account, as we have noticed above, would seem to be historical.

al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī report Abū Dharr present with Mu'āwiyah's armies that took Amorium, A.H. 23 and Cyprus, A.H. 28. Both betray their pro-'Alid proclivity by ascribing this alleged service under the odious Umayyads to hearsay, al-Balādhurī by introducing his report with the words: They said/ḳālū and al-Ṭabarī by using the formula: According to that which was said/fī mā dhukira. Now, while we do not know how Abū Dharr proceeded from the garrison at Cairo to Amorium, we know from al-Ṭabarī (I, 2826, 15), that the fleet stationed in Egypt (carrying Abū Dharr?) took Mu'āwiyah on board at Acre *en route* to Cyprus and set him there on land again (and with him Abū Dharr?) on the return journey. From Acre Abū Dharr may have gone to Medina. If this be so, then it is congruent with al-Balādhurī's reporting Abū Dharr present there at the distribution of the prizes of war taken A.H. 27 in N.W. Africa, and makes him go afterwards to Damascus.

Hitherto there is nothing in the accounts concerning Abū Dharr that could possibly have made him of interest to the historians of Islam, but we are now about to find the peak of his career, namely his controversy

with the secularisers of the theocracy. This conflict we must regard not only as the peak of his career but also as the key to it, for it is precisely this struggle with those that were secularising the theocracy that must have served as the initial point for the tendentious shaping of the image of Abû Dharr by both Orthodox and 'Alid. On the one hand the orthodox opposition to the secularisation of the theocracy saw in Abû Dharr a zealot—a pious sufferer for the just cause and one who eschewed the world, the flesh and the Devil. But on the other hand the 'Alids misrepresent Abû Dharr's controversy with the whole body of those who had departed from the pristine piety of Islam, as exemplified in the lives of Mohammed, Abû Bakr and 'Umar, as being addressed in particular to 'Uthmân as well as to his kinsmen and retinue. And since they considered these to be the enemies of 'Alî, Abû Dharr's quarrel with them made him theoretically a supporter or at least a well-wisher of 'Alî, and thus the faction of 'Alî claimed him as one of their own from the very beginning. Against this the supporters of Mu'âwiyah, a kinsman of 'Uthmân, speak especially through al-Ṭabarî, who makes it unmistakably plain that he stands on the side of those that excuse Mu'âwiyah in the matter of his sending Abû Dharr from Damascus to Medina, stating that he dislikes to mention most of the many things said concerning the reason of that.

We turn now to the accounts concerning Abû Dharr's controversy with the worldly minded of his day.

Although Ibn Sa'd X A.D. 845, wrote under the pro-'Alid caliph al-Ma'mûn, he devotes to this controversy barely one of the twenty pages of traditions on Abû Dharr that he has collected. Moreover, he has so strewn the fragments on this subject among the wealth of hagiographic detail concerning his conversion, asceticism and burial, that one gains the impression that he wished to say as little as possible of a painful subject. One of these accounts tells us that Mohammed, pointing towards Syria had told Abû Dharr to leave Medina when the news/al-naba' (of his conflict?) reached Sal' (a hill near the market place in Medina, and a resort for gossips, so that he might not have to see Abû Dharr's superiors rid themselves of him, and that when this materialised he went to Syria. Then Mu'âwiyah wrote to 'Uthmân that Abû Dharr had incited the people to civil disturbances. Accordingly 'Uthmân sent for Abû Dharr, who went to him and asked for permission to withdraw to al-Rabadhah, which the caliph granted.

In another fragment of Ibn Sa'd's on this subject, resting on the authority of Zayd b. Wahb, X A.H. 96, we are told that Abû Dharr

settled in al-Rabadhah in consequence of a difference of opinion with Mu'āwiyah concerning the interpretation of Koran, IX, 34–35. Later we give below four variants of differing length of this tradition, followed by a commentary on it by al-Ḳastallānī, X A.D. 1448.

al-Balādhurī, X A.D. 892, makes Abū Dharr ask 'Uthmān for permission to leave Medina for Syria because Mohammed had told him to do so when the building(s)/al-binā' [*sic!*] reached Sal'—this is a misquotation, "the news"/al-naba' being the correct reading, as in the account given above by Ibn Sa'd. In Syria he allegedly criticised Mu'āwiyah who complained of this to 'Uthmān who recalled him to Medina. There he criticised 'Uthmān who granted him permission to withdraw to al-Rabadhah. Since al-Balādhurī wrote under the strict orthodox caliph al-Mutawakkil he does not mention 'Alī in this affair.

Although al-Ṭabarī, X A.D. 923, belonged to the faction of 'Alī, albeit as a 'moderate', he declares that it would be repugnant to him to mention the greater part of the many things said concerning Mu'āwiyah's sending Abū Dharr from Damascus to Medina. Quoting Sayf b. 'Umar of the Iraqi school of traditionists that put 'Uthmān and his lieutenants in a good light, he makes Abū Dharr first discuss with Mu'āwiyah the latter's financial policy. But this is an anachronism. Then he makes him incite the poor against the rich by preaching from Koran, IX, 34–35. Of this Mu'āwiyah complained to 'Uthmān who told him to send him to Medina, where, after he had discussed matters of finance with the caliph he asked his permission to leave Medina, because Mohammed had told him to do so when the buildings/al-binā' (this should read: "the news"/al-naba') reached Mount Sal'. So 'Uthmān allowed him to withdraw to al-Rabadhah, where he treated him kindly and invited him to visit him in Medina, which he often did.

Now we turn to the accounts given by al-Ya'qūbī, al-Mas'ūdī and al-Shushtarī—all fanatical admirers of 'Alī.

al-Ya'qūbī, X A.D. 897, a contemporary of al-Balādhurī, had pronounced sympathies for the faction of 'Alī, although he himself was an orthodox Muslim. As such he makes Abū Dharr preach on behalf of 'Alī on account of which 'Uthmān banished him to Damascus. There he continued to preach in the same strain. So Mu'āwiyah complained of him to 'Uthmān who told him to send Abū Dharr to him on a mount bearing a packsaddle without a cover, which excoriated his thighs. In Medina he criticised 'Uthmān's clan, the Umayyads, and 'Alī is made to support him against 'Uthmān who banished him to al-Rabadhah. 'Alī and his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are made to accompany Abū Dharr

on the way to al-Rabadhah in spite of the caliph's prohibition. al-Ya'qûbî's account seems to lie at the base of the reports given by al-Mas'ûdî and al-Shushtarî. These are reproduced in due course below.

Although one suspects the presence of hagiographic traits in some of the foregoing traditions we must observe that no attempt has been made to suppress entirely the reports concerning Abû Dharr's military service under 'Umar, 'Uthmân and Mu'âwiyah, which must have been extremely embarrassing to the faction of 'Alî, and that incongruent reports have not been harmonised, while those that are equivocal have not been made plain.

As we have just seen, after his preaching in public Abû Dharr removed to al-Rabadhah, a dependancy of Medina. The friends of 'Alî see in this removal the forcible banishment of a fiery ranter that was troublesome, if not indeed dangerous to the odious 'Uthman, against whom, so they would have us believe, he had preached in favour of 'Alî and whose alteration of the Koran he, as also Ibn Mas'ûd, had allegedly criticised. But the supporters of 'Uthmân set this retreat forth as the voluntary forsaking of this wicked world, against the wish of the caliph, who had asked him to stay at Medina. But here we must observe that the abandonment of the community is reproachable.

The accounts of the end of his life, too, evince the same well-marked tendencies for or against 'Uthmân. On one side al-Rabadhah is called the worst spot in the district. There he lived in voluntary destitution as an ascetic, whom men honoured as a sufferer for the cause of God, by bringing him presents, which he refused, lest he might die possessing more than his bare needs, so that at his death his wife had nothing in which to enshroud him.

But on the other side al-Rabadhah is described more objectively as the home of a community, where on his arrival the ritual prayer was being celebrated, and where he later designed a mosque. It was in fact a busy staging post covering an area some sixteen miles square of pasture, where thousands of camels, including a thousand of the caliph's, grazed. Thither he retired to his estate, where he maintained thirty chargers. There apart from an allowance from public funds he received daily a leg of mutton from the caliph.

But the accounts of his death adduced all agree in one point, namely that a party of riders appeared unexpectedly to enshroud and bury

him, after, according to the prophecy of Mohammed, he had died alone.

More important than all these romantic details is the date of his death, given by al-Wâḳidī as the end of the eleventh month of A.H. 31. We return to this point in due course below.

THE BACKGROUND TO THE CONFLICT BETWEEN ABŪ DHARR
AND THOSE THAT WERE NIGGARDLY TOWARDS GOD

Under the first caliphs the Arabs spread all over the near and middle East where they came to be quartered in garrison towns as regular soldiers. Although they were now Muslims they continued to live as heretofore according to their tribal customs brought with them from their desert home, where each had lived through and for his tribe, whose members had all things in common, the tribe's possessions being administered by the headman, who cared less for the good of an individual than for the commonweal. Spoils taken in raids were shared among the tribe. This custom continued in the army of the theocracy, the prizes of war, down to the caliphate of 'Umar, being shared out among the warriors. Thus the ancient social structure of the tribe remained basically unaltered. Life in the armed camp suited the fighting spirit of the Arab, so there was never any lack of recruits from the Arabian peninsula. This, perhaps the happiest period of Islam, at least for the rank and file, persisted until the time of 'Uthmān, who gave one fifth of the spoils taken in N.W. Africa, A.H. 27, to his cousin Marwān b. al-Hakam in flagrant disregard of the Koranic instruction: "When ye have taken any booty, a fifth part belongeth to God and to the Apostle, and to the near of kin, and to orphans and to the poor and to the wayfarer . . ." Koran VIII, 42, Rodwell 378. The other four fifths of the booty were to be divided among the troops who had been present at the battle, as combatant or non-combatant.

But apart from the traditional loot that a soldier could carry or lead away there were other prizes of war, namely the countries annexed and their inhabitants. Accordingly land and poll taxes were levied on these immovable spoils of war. The revenue thus accruing was collected by the treasury. Under the first caliph, Abū Bakr (A.H. 11–13) these taxes were distributed equally among all the warriors in keeping with ancient custom. But the second caliph, 'Umar (A.H. 13–23) instituted a muster-roll/diwan of all those having the right to military pensions. These were allotted to various pensioner classes, the lowest receiving at

least enough to live on. But the prerequisite of this system was that the prizes of war should continue to increase, because the regular receipts from the taxation of subjugated peoples did not suffice even to pay the recruits coming from Arabia. This insufficiency gave the stimulus to the expeditions under the third caliph, 'Uthmân (A.H. 23–35) through which Persia, Adharbayjân and parts of Armenia were conquered. But the booty accruing from these campaigns did not meet expectations. Moreover, 'Uthmân instead of assigning it entirely to the warriors, reserved a share of it for his family and his governors by developing a system of fiefs, of which 'Umar had made great use. Besides, the economic crisis arising from the sudden affluence of the masses soon forced him to make economies and to decrease the army pensions. These measures, especially the latter, naturally led to widespread discontent. We now quote Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 27 f.: "As long as the proper, moveable booty/ghanimah had continued to accrue to them through the campaigns, they (the warriors) had calmly consented, that the government should lay its hand on the fay'/the real property and the persons of the subjugated peoples, for they could not at that time have done anything with it. Now, however, they came to see, that they had unawares allowed the more valuable part of the booty to be taken from them in the storm and stress of the times. If they had received at least the full revenue of the fay', that is the annual amount of tax levied on subject peoples, they would have let things remain as they were. But not even that happened: the tax levied on subject peoples flowed, together with the other state revenues, into the exchequer. The government merely gave the Arab troops pensions from it. The government held the strings of the purse, whose contents really belonged to the army. The government became independent through the lands conquered by the army, which were legally the booty of the army, by not distributing to the warriors these lands and their populations, and by bringing the tax-potential of the same into its own power. Thus the army came to depend on the government through the pensions, which it could dole out in any amount it thought fit—or withdraw. Formerly the government had lived on the army: but now the tables were turned. No wonder that the troops felt themselves cheated by this blackguard of a government, whose backbone was the exchequer, by which it raised itself above the troops, leading them by the nose. The soldiers maintained that the moneys collected from tribute belonged to them and not to the state. It was the property of the Muslims/mâl al-Muslimîn and not the property of the state/mâl

Allah! They persisted in their claim that the revenue accruing from the fay' should be distributed among their ranks." (Translated from the German).

Besides the disgruntled warriors there were other opponents, namely the Companions of the Prophet, whose ranks included the Emigrants and Supporters, who on Mohammed's passing away had defeated the Legitimists, who designated 'Alī as the only legitimate successor to Mohammed, by electing not 'Alī, whose election would have resulted in the negation of 'Umar's policy, but the weakest member of their own party, 'Uthmān, in the mistaken belief that they would be able to influence him and realise their own ambitions. But to their dismay, those who came to influence him most and take complete control of public affairs were his family and the related aristocracy of Mecca, who now proceeded to recover their pristine pre-eminence in politics, by obtaining through their kinsman, 'Uthmān, influential posts in the administration of the empire, which they had done precious little to win. Thus his cousin, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, came to be in charge of the diwān; his foster brother, 'Abdullah, one of the ten proscribed by Mohammed at the capture of Mecca, A.H. 8, was made Governor of Egypt; his half brother, al-Walīd b. 'Uḡbah, who had spat in Mohammed's face, was raised to the governorship of Kūfah, while his second cousin, Mu'āwiyah, was appointed Governor of Damascus. Although there might have lain behind these appointments the intention of creating unity of government and administration according to the policy laid down by 'Umar, by following and developing which 'Uthmān ran into difficulties, charges of nepotism became widespread.

The feeling of discontent, aroused by his unpopular administration, was aggravated by the three aspirants to the caliphate, 'Alī, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, who together with other Companions of the Prophet frequently accused 'Uthmān of deviating from the Koran and the usages and customs of Mohammed, particularly in the application of the provisions of the law, the "limits"/ḥudūd laid down by God, 'Alī insisted upon the application of this law upon 'Uthmān's half brother al-Walīd b. 'Uḡbah for drinking, and reproached 'Uthmān for his introduction of innovations.

The first movements of rebellion occurred about A.H. 30 in Iraq, the region most affected by the economic crisis. Much graver disturbances broke out among 'Alī's followers in Kūfah, A.H. 32–33, led by the Koran reciters, who together with the religious element were indignant at 'Uthmān's official edition of the Koran and the destruction of the

copies existing in the provinces. Egypt too was in turmoil. About the end of the year 35 rebel bodies from Egypt and Iraq advanced upon Medina, the Egyptians being the first to arrive. These asked 'Alī to be their leader, but he refused. They then besieged 'Uthmān's house, demanding his abdication. During the siege the Companions looked on in malevolent neutrality, but 'Alī encouraged the rebels by his attitude and there is reason to suspect his being in agreement with their demanding the caliph's abdication, although complicity in his murder is excluded. 'Uthmān refusing to abdicate, some of the rebels broke into his house, where one of them, Mohammed, the son of the first caliph, Abū Bakr, murdered the aged caliph as he sat reading the Koran.

There now ensued a struggle for the vacant throne, first between 'Alī and his rivals Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, and then between 'Alī and a new aspirant, Mu'āwiyah, the champion of his murdered kinsman, 'Uthmān. All unity in Islam, both religious and political was now at an end.

The rapid and far reaching spread of Islam, still in progress a generation after its emergence, brought with it property and wealth for those who had formerly had all things in common with other members of the tribe, on the old Arab economy, which deteriorated by reason of the new affluence. About a generation after the Hijrah (A.D. 622) people born about that time who had had no hand in the conquest of the regions reaching from Spain to the confines of China, as well as some who had served in the wars of conquest, said openly that the life hereafter no longer interested them as it formerly had. Some even thought that pious acts should be imputed twice to the doer (al-Nawāwī, Tahdhīb, 362, 6). This galvanised the godly remnant of Islam, the puritans or ascetics, to protest. Their protest was accelerated when, by reason of the emergence of a clique of parvenus and *nouveaux-riches* about the figure of the caliph 'Uthmān, theocratic thought suffered loss in political affairs, for the puritans were not at all those after whose way of thinking political thought was fashioned, and that notwithstanding a saying ascribed to Mohammed, that there would be no more emperors in Syria and no more Chosroes in Iraq and that Muslims would apply their possessions to God's work. This dictum was so interpreted as to mean that the application to pious purposes of loot taken in war compensated for the worldliness arising from the wars of conquest (al-Nawāwī, Tahdhīb, 19, 8). But even this interpretation was in no way agreeable to those who now had to decide over the application of the wealth accruing from the wars of expansion. The lands and wealth that had been taken by Muslim warriors was now administrated

by a body of upstarts, the worldly wise relatives of 'Uthmân, whose tribe the Quraysh, the bitter enemies of Mohammed in the early days of Islam, had from time immemorial been merchants and as such saw no point in laying treasure up in heaven, preferring to lay it up on earth where moth and rust do not corrupt gold and silver, and that in spite of the Koranic curse addressed to 'those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the way of God' (Koran, IX, 34–35). This curse, some said, applied not to Muslims but to rabbis and monks—and this was put into the mouth of Mu'awiyah in order to gain credence for it—similarly the thought of those who maintained that this passage of the Koran was of general application was put into the mouth of Abû Dharr—and this must give us some idea of his image in the world of Islam. Others said that the payment of the poor-rate/zakât according to one's possessions cleansed/zakkâ them of further duties of piety towards the poor and needy who had not been enriched by Arabia's economic miracle. The caliph 'Uthmân and Ka'b al-aḥbâr are made to represent this school of thought, while Abû Dharr is set forth as the representative of those who opposed it.

The worldly-minded regarded as recluses, ignorant of this world, the puritans who represented what they thought to be the original, ideal aim of Islam, and who proclaimed as did Abû Dharr that gold and silver used niggardly towards God were as glowing coals for their owners. In the documents of religious thought of this period one finds signs of unconcealed disapproval of self-denial that exceeds the payment of the poor-rate, although such excess would, ideally, have met with the unconditional approbation of Mohammed. Materialism had changed the thought of the survivors of the wars of the prophet, the thought of those born during or after these wars was shaped by it. People no longer thought theocratically and one finds this reflected in the ḥadīth. For example, although Abû Dharr claimed that Mohammed had told him that he would have disposed of a pile of gold as huge as Mount Uḥud in charity except for a carat, yet al-Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir, one of the followers/tābi'ūna,¹ a poet and warrior companion of 'Alī once said that he wished he had a pile of gold as high as Mount Uḥud without ever having to make use of it. But what good would that do thee? asked his interlocutor. A crowd of people would come to serve me in the hope of deriving some profit from it, was his reply (Ibn Ẹutaybah, X A.D. 884, 'Uyûn al-akhbâr, I, p. 241).

¹The tābi'ūna were contemporaries of Mohammed, who though not knowing him, knew one of his Companions, or belonged to the generation after Mohammed and his Companions.

The worldly-wise thought that those who strove after otherworldly values should have some appreciation of those whose endeavours lay in a different direction. But, unlike the puritans, they sought a compromise and with this end in view produced an instruction, naturally put into Mohammed's mouth, in the sense of aristotelian moderation, namely: The best among you is not he who neglects the life hereafter for the present life, nor he who doeth the reverse: the best among you is he who taketh of both (Ibn ʔutaybah, *ʔuyûn al-akhbâr*, 375, 10). The prevailing thought of the period was that the measure of renunciation of the goods of this world was fixed by law and that no self-denial beyond this measure was desirable. This was put into the mouth of Mohammed himself thus: One renounceth this world not by considering things allowed as forbidden nor in the relinquishing of this world's goods but by trusting in that which is in God's hand and in desiring the reward for misfortunes endured rather than exoneration from the same. Abû Idrîs al-Khawlânî who enunciates this dictum in the name of Abû Dharr gives this judgment concerning it: This ḥadîth is among the ḥadîth as fine gold amidst other gold. But this is to mock the traditional image of Abû Dharr!

Examples of exuberant asceticism are often so related that Mohammed's disapproval follows as a matter of course. For example, the following verses, directed against Jewish dietary laws, are so interpreted as to apply to certain ascetic associates of Mohammed:

Koran, V, 89–90

O ye who believe! interdict not the healthful viands which God hath allowed you; go not beyond this limit. God loveth not those who outstep it.

And eat of what God hath given you for food, that which is lawful and wholesome: and fear God, in whom ye believe (Rodwell, p. 496).

Consider also the exhortation rendered by Mohammed to ʔuthmân b. Maẓʔûn to bring him from the path of self-denial (I.S., IIIi, p. 287) and to ʔabdullah the son of the illustrious general ʔamr b. al-ʔâṣ (I.S., IIii, p. 125) to turn him aside from his escapism.

To return to Koran, V, 89 . . . 'Go not beyond this limit!' receives this interpretation: Do not go beyond the limit of that which is forbidden by law, i.e. do not overdo your abstinence.

Koran, V, 91: God will not punish you for a mistaken word in your oaths; but he will punish you in regard to an oath taken seriously (if ye violate it). This verse is brought into connection with the advice

against vows to do penance to quieten the conscience of those who had corroborated their vows with an oath. cf. Koran, LXVI, 2; God hath allowed you release from your oaths.

Koran, XX, 1: Not to sadden thee have we sent down this Koran to thee, but as a warning for him who feareth. (Rodwell, p. 94). Mujâhid interprets this verse as disapproval of people who wound ropes about the body during their devotional exercises (Tab. Tafsîr, XVII, 90). (Rodwell, p. 253).

Koran, XXVIII, 77b (Tab. Tafsîr, XX, 66) is interpreted in a similar sense: But seek, by means of what God hath given thee, to attain the future mansion; and neglect not thy part in this world . . . and seek not to commit excesses on the earth; for God loveth not those who commit excesses. (Rodwell, p. 253).

The Origin of Abû Dharr's Teaching

An examination of the revelations which moved Mohammed to march on the Christian Arabs of Ghassân in Tabûk in the year A.H. 9 may help us to discover the sources of the materials of Abû Dharr's allegedly fiery ranting against those that were niggardly towards God and their neighbours in the days of the caliph 'Uthmân (A.D. 644–656).

Most of the Arabian tribes of northern Arabia remained Christians after the occupation of Mecca by Mohammed in the year A.H. 8. At first Mohammed seemed to be ready to conclude pacts with these tribes. His letter to the bishop Dughâtir is an example of this attitude: Peace be to him who believes. Furthermore, Jesus the son of Mary is the Spirit of God and His word; He placed it in Mary the pure. I believe in God and what was revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac and Jacob and to the Israelites/asbâṭ and what was given to Moses and Jesus and what was given to the prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between any of them (sc. we do not count any superior to others). We are surrendered/muslimûn to Him. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance. He sent this by the hand of Dihyah b. Khalîfah al-Kalbî. I.S., lii, 28, 6–11.

The ~~capture of Constantinople~~ by Heraclius in the year A.H. 8 and the liberation of Jerusalem in the following year must have increased the resistance of the northern tribes of the Christian Arabs.¹

↳ conquest of
Persia

The tradition concerning the deputation from the Ghassân to Mohammed shows quite clearly that the Ghassanites made no sign what-

¹Watt, M., *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, p. 13 f.

soever of any desire to accept Islam,¹ while other traditions show that the Ghassanites resisted the Muslims for some years.² For example, Mohammed's expedition against Mu'tah in the year A.H. 8 was intended to punish Shurahbîl b. 'Amr of Ghassân for the execution of al-Hârith b. 'Umayr al-Azdî while the same was bearing a letter from Mohammed to the 'king' of Bostra.³

This stubborn resistance on the part of the northern tribes led to a revolution in the policy of the apostle of God towards Christians.⁴ From then onwards his slogan was: Make war upon such of those to whom the scriptures have been given, as believe not in God, or in the last day, and who forbid not that which God and His apostle have forbidden, and who profess not the profession of the truth until they pay tribute out of hand and they be humbled.⁵ This verse from the Koran as also any other verse of scripture is best considered in its context.

Koran, IX, 28-33

O Believers! only they who join gods with God are unclean! Let them not, therefore, after this their year, come near the sacred Temple. And if ye fear want, God is knowing, wise. Make war upon such of those to whom the scriptures have been given as believe not in God, or in the last day, and who forbid not that which God and His apostle have forbidden, and who profess not the profession of the truth, until they pay tribute out of hand, and they be humbled.

The Jews say, 'Ezra (Ozair) is a son of God'; and the Christians say, 'the Messiah is a son of God!'

Such the sayings in their mouths! They resemble the saying of the infidels of old! God do battle with them! How are they misguided!

They take their teachers, and their monks, and the Messiah, son of Mary, for lords beside God, though bidden to worship one God only. There is no God but He! Far from His glory be what they associate with Him!

Fain would they put out God's light with their mouths; but God only desireth to perfect His light, albeit the Infidels abhor it. He it is who hath sent His apostle with the Guidance and a religion of the truth, that He may make it victorious over every other religion, albeit they who

¹ I.S., Iii, 71 cf. Caetani, Iii, 328.

² al-Wâkidi, p. 391.

³ *idem*, p. 309.

⁴ Watt, M., *Muhammad at Medina*.

⁵ Koran, IX, 29, Rodwell, p. 473.

assign partners to God be averse from it.¹ This then, was Mohammed's divine authority for waging war on the scriptuaries, that is, the Jews and the Christians. But before he could force them to pay tribute out of hand he found it necessary to raise funds in order to wage war upon them. To strengthen his hand in this matter the divine oracle did not tarry in sending this revelation down to him:

Koran, IX, 34–35

O Believers! of a truth, many of the teachers and monks do devour man's substance in vanity, and turn them from the way of God. But to those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the way of God, announce tidings of a grievous torment. On that day their treasures shall be heated in hell fire, and their foreheads, and their sides, and their backs, shall be branded with them. . . ' This is what ye have treasured up for yourselves: taste, therefore, your treasures! (Rodwell, p. 473). With this threat of branding in the fire of Hell Mohammed turned upon 'those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the way of God' and these were neither Jews nor Christians but members of his own community, for without their financial aid he was not yet in a position to force the Christian Arabs of Tabûk to pay tribute out of hand. He urged the men of means to help in providing money and mounts for God's cause. The wealthy provided mounts and thus stored up a reward with God. 'Uthmân b. 'Affân spent a sum larger than any other had ever done. (Ibn Ishâq, p. 895).

These two verses of the Koran contrast Mohammed with the rabbis and monks, who 'devoured man's substance in vanity, and turned them from the way of God.' The threat of hell-fire concerns not the rabbis and monks but 'those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the way of God.' No threat of hell-fire against Jews and Christians was necessary to make them expend gold and silver in the way of God, for Mohammed had already received the divine injunction to make war upon them until they paid tribute out of hand. Seeing that God would in no way accept the offerings of those who had no desire to join him in the expedition in the way of God (against Tabûk), Koran, IX, 38, how could He have accepted the unclean offerings of unbelieving Jews and polytheistic Christians? This is but one of a number of similar threats addressed to Muslims that are niggardly towards God, for we read, for example:

¹Rodwell, p. 473.

Koran, III, 175–176:

And let not those who are niggard of what God hath vouchsafed them in His bounty, think that this will be good for them—Nay, it will be bad for them—That of which they have been niggard shall be their collar on the day of resurrection. God's the heritage of the Heavens and of the Earth! And God is well-informed of all ye do (Rodwell, p. 403), cf. Koran, IV, 41–42; 264–269, Rodwell, p. 415.

We have already considered the possibility of Abû Dharr's being in the service of Mohammed about the time of the march undertaken against Tabûk A.H. 9. Thus it is possible that he may have heard Mohammed urging the men of means to help in providing money and mounts for God's work (Ibn Ishâk, p. 895), and 'persuading them' (Tab. p. 1692). At all events he may have heard of the prophet's irate utterances with which he thus persuaded the men of means to part with their hoarded goods and wealth in the way of God. It is also possible that Abû Dharr may have seen, or heard from eyewitnesses, how Yaḥanna b. Ru'bah the governor of Aylah came and made a treaty with him and paid him poll tax, and further how the people of Jarbâ' and Adhruh also came and paid the poll tax (Ibn Ishâk, p. 902; and how the prophet spared Ukaydir's life and made peace with him on condition that he paid the poll tax, after the march on Tabûk (Ibn Ishâk, p. 903).

Mohammed's threatening those who 'treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the way of God' with cauterisation on forehead, side and back with their own treasures heated in hell-fire (Koran, IX, 34–35) seems to have made a lasting impression on Abû Dharr, for some twenty years later he attacked Muslims niggardly towards God with variations of these verses of the Koran. Although the variations show varying degrees of the grotesque and the macabre, the threat remains invariably branding—if not with treasures heated in the flames of Hell, then branding with irons, live coals and even with heated plates of metal or stone, for example: Announce to those who hoard gold and silver instead of giving it in alms for God's sake branding irons/mikâwîn) of fire, with which their foreheads, sides and backs will be branded (Tab. Ta'riḫ, I, p. 2858). Announce to the hoarders/kannâzûna branding/kaiy on their backs, which will issue forth from the abdomen and branding on their necks which will come out on their foreheads (AbH., V, p. 167, 6; p. 169, 6). Announce to the hoarders live coals/raqf made red hot in hell fire. These will be laid on the nipple of the breast of one of them until they issue from the shoulder blade. Then they will be laid on the

shoulder blade until they come forth from the nipple of the breast (al-Bukhârî, I, p. 356). Raḍf, the plural of raḍfah, really means glowing stones, on which the Bedouin bake and broil. Compare the 'glowing coal'/riṣpah of Isaiah 6, 6 which also means a glowing stone. Announce to the unbelievers/kāfirûna live coals/raḍf made red hot in hell-fire. These will be laid on the nipple of the breast of (each) one of them until they come out at the shoulder blade. Then they will be laid on his shoulder blade until they come out from the nipple of his breast (al-Râzî, III, p. 440). The same verses of the Koran, namely IX, 34–35 are probably the basis of the tradition according to which Mohammed told Abû Dharr that gold and silver used niggardly act as live coals/jamr on their possessor until they be donated for the cause of God/ḥi sabîl Allâh (I.S., IVi, 165, 25; 169, 9; 31; AbH., V, 156, 17). Another interpretation of the same verses is perhaps the saying ascribed to Mohammed that whoever leaves gold and silver behind at death is branded with the same (Ṭab. Tafsîr, X, p. 72; AbH., V, 168, 12; al-Bayḍawî, III, p. 66).

In keeping with this doctrine of austerity Abû Dharr is said to have contented himself with the barest necessities of life lest he be brought to account for superabundant possessions on the day of judgement, for we read: 'Abdullah b. al-Ṣâmit, his nephew, was with Abû Dharr when the latter's stipend was paid out. A slave of his who was with him began then to procure what he needed. She had some commodities/sila' over: so Abû Dharr told her to obtain coppers for them (presumably to be given away in alms). Thereupon 'Abdullah b. al-Ṣâmit said: If only you were to put this away for a rainy day it would come in useful to you or to the guest that might come to your house. But Abû Dharr replied: My friend (Mohammed) told me that all wealth, gold or silver, that one uses niggardly acts as live coals/jamr on their possessor until he lays it out for God's cause. I.S., IVi, p. 169, 3; AbH., V, p. 156, 17; 175, 28. (AbH. has seven/sab' instead of commodities/sila').

It would seem that Abû Dharr broadcast his doctrine/mahdhab not only in the streets and on the market place but also privately to individuals, for Abû Mujayd tells us: The tip of Abû Hurayrah's scabbard (AbH., V, 168, 12 has sword pommel) consisted of silver. Abû Dharr forbade him that, saying to him that Mohammed had said: Whoever leaves gold and silver behind is branded with the same (Ṭab. Tafsîr, X, p. 72; al-Bayḍawî, III, p. 66).

al-Isbahânî tells us that Abû Dharr possessed neither gold nor silver and that he taught that the possessor of two dirhams would bear greater

responsibility (on the day of judgment) than the possessor of a single dirham (*Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, p. 164, 1; 9).

Mohammed is said to have remarked that a thing more calamitous than a bad crop (year) haunted him, namely the fear that the world with its abundance would corrupt his community—and to have expressed the wish that his people should have no pleasure in gold (*AbḤ.*, V, p. 152, 29; p. 154, 28; p. 178, 11).

Another element that seems to lie at the root of Abū Dharr's teaching/madḥhab that it is forbidden to possess a superabundance of this world's goods is an utterance ascribed by Abū Dharr to Mohammed, namely that if he had possessed a mass of gold as huge as Mount Uḥud he would have given it all in alms except for a small amount varying in the different accounts from a carat to three dinars. (*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, I, 356; II, 83; IV, 177; 218; *Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, V, 148, 29; 152, 1; 160, 24; 28; 176, 20; *Murūj al-Dhahab*, IV, 220).

chapter IV

THE CONFLICT

We turn now to consider the varying accounts of that event which made Abû Dharr worthy of notice to the historians of Islam, namely his controversy with the secularists of his day, which the partisans of 'Alî grossly misrepresent as an attack on the caliph 'Uthmân and his ilk, all of whom this faction delights to denigrate. But for his public emergence, during which he is alleged to have incited the people of Damascus to riots and even to have discussed theology and financial policy with Mu'âwiyah, it is not probable that the historians would have shown any interest in one who had never risen from the rank of a private soldier in the forces of Mohammed and in those of the caliphs 'Umar and 'Uthmân, for this is the only time that he was 'mentioned in despatches' during that long military service, namely in the despatch that Mu'âwiyah allegedly sent to 'Uthmân concerning the civil disturbance that his preaching is said to have caused in Damascus, A.H. 30.

We have taken the trouble of translating and including accounts of this conflict so that the reader may not have to spend time in gaining access to the texts in Arabic and Persian whence they have been gathered. Here we must remember that this is an attempt to examine the obscure image of Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî in the history and the hagiography of Islam—and not a clever, sustained argument on some figure well-known to the public. To pursue the matter *ad absurdum*, to examine an image, we must needs have that image before us. Since the following pages, dealing with the peak of his career, contain sketches that reflect various aspects of that image, they may be treated as a number of sketches of the same subject by different artists, in each of which one discerns the traits of the subject in spite of artistic fantasy, and may be considered together, since even this fantasy contributes something to the general, traditional image of the subject.

In the examination of our materials we have taken care not to attempt to harmonise the differing versions into one well rounded continuous narrative, for thus we should have run into the same error in which Sir William Muir and Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî have been fairly

caught. Analysis shows that some of our primary sources also have, in a similar manner, compiled their accounts of elements taken from the sea of oral and written tradition—and that with a license that one normally allows only to poets. Consider for instance the accounts concerning the quarrel alleged to have flared up between Abû Dharr and his comrade in arms Ka'b al-aḥbâr, sometimes called al-ḥabr, in which the former allegedly struck the latter on the head with a staff (*a*) in Medina before his going to Damascus, or on his return thence to Medina at the behest of the caliph 'Uthmân, or (*b*) in Medina before his withdrawal thence to al-Rabadhah, or on his return from that retreat in order to visit the caliph on the latter's invitation. There is so much variety in time, place and cause of this quarrel, that one wonders whether one is reading history or anecdotes—and much the same might be said of the rest of the materials offered by those sources that reproduce the account concerning this alleged quarrel.

There are basically only two sketches, namely (1) that ascribed to Zayd b. Wahb, X A.H. 96, which has received the attention of Koran exegetes through the centuries. This deals with Abû Dharr's interpretation of Koran IX, 34–35, in which all the exegetes agree with him, except al-Âlûsî, a very late authority, who strangely enough receives the support of the Ulema of al-Azhar, and (2) that resting on al-Ya'qûbî, X A.H. 284, closely imitated by al-Mas'ûdî and al-Shushtarî, which makes Abû Dharr rant against 'Uthmân in Medina, subsequently against Mu'âwiyah at Damascus and again against 'Uthmân on his return thence to Medina, whence he is allegedly banished to al-Rabadhah. 'Alî and his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are made to accompany Abû Dharr on the way to al-Rabadhah in spite of the prohibition of the caliph.

We turn now to the account according to Zayd b. Wahb. To this we preface a note on Ibn Sa'd.

Ibn Sa'd

Ibn Sa'd, X A.D. 845, the amanuensis of al-Wâḳidî, X A.D. 813, wrote during the period of the persecution of the orthodox Muslims on the part of the caliphs al-Ma'mûn, al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wâthiq, A.D. 833–847.

The chains of authorities preceding the ḥadîth concerning Abû Dharr that Ibn Sa'd adduces contain names that do not occur in the registers of traditionists. Those names that do occur in such lists are those of nobodies of whom nothing is said to enable one to ascertain what tendencies they would most likely represent. Concerning Zayd b. Wahb,

X A.H. 96, the most important reporter on Abû Dharr's alleged difference of opinion with Mu'âwiyah, we know only that he was one of the followers/tâbi'ûna,¹ that he heard Abû Dharr and his contemporaries, and that he was a reliable source.

On the subject of Abû Dharr's conflict with the secularists Ibn Sa'd strews his materials sparsely and higgledy-piggledy. For instance, he insinuates into a concatenation of hagiographic elements (I.S. IVi, 166, 21) a note to the effect that Mu'âwiyah wrote to 'Uthmân that Abû Dharr had caused the people (of Damascus) to riot, on which 'Uthmân sent for the culprit. But he produces also a note involving al-Aḥnaf b. Kays, X after A.H. 67, a distinguished officer, which belittles Abû Dharr and his affair in Damascus. Apart from these notes he produces another, ascribed to Zayd b. Wahb, that Abû Dharr withdrew to al-Rabadhah on account of a difference of opinion with Mu'âwiyah on the interpretation of Koran, IX, 34–35. One gains the impression that Ibn Sa'd walked circumspectly concerning this matter.

After a glance at the materials containing the allegation that Abû Dharr caused riots in Damascus we produce four variants of the account ascribed to Zayd b. Wahb, followed by the commentary of al-Ḳastallânî, after which we consider the comments of the Koran exegetes on the interpretation of Koran, IX, 34–35.

Ibn Sa'd—Kitâb al-ṭabaḳât al-kabîr, IVi, 166, 21

Pointing towards Syria Mohammed had told Abû Dharr to leave (Medina) when the news/al-naba' reached Sal' (a hill near the market place in Medina), so that he might not see Abû Dharr's superiors/emirs disembarass themselves of him. Abû Dharr thereupon asked Mohammed whether he should not contend with anyone who might intervene between him and his (Mohammed's) command. To this Mohammed replied in the negative. So Abû Dharr asked him why he had to hear and obey even an Abyssinian slave. And when that happened (see lines one and two above) he went to Syria. Then Mu'âwiyah wrote to 'Uthmân that Abû Dharr had incited the people to civil disturbances. Accordingly 'Uthmân sent for him. So Abû Dharr went to him. As he was on his way some of his (Mu'âwiyah's) servants/ahl were sent after him. These found in his possession a bag, or an amount/shay' which they supposed to be dirhams. But they exclaimed on opening it: What God willed (is), for behold these are coppers/fulûs. (cf. al-Ṭabarî, I,

So Ago

2861). When Abû Dharr arrived at Medina 'Uthmân requested him to stay with him, saying that milch camels would be brought to him morning and evening. But Abû Dharr said that he had no need of 'Uthmân's world and begged that he might be allowed to withdraw to al-Rabadhah. 'Uthmân granted his request so he betook himself to al-Rabadhah. When he arrived the ritual prayer was being celebrated under the direction of an Abyssinian slave belonging to 'Uthmân. The same drew back on espying Abû Dharr. But he told the slave to proceed and conduct the divine service, adding that he had been commanded to hear and obey even an Abyssinian slave, making the observation that his interlocutor was indeed an Abyssinian slave.

Ibn Sa'd—X A.D. 845—Kitâb al-ṭabaqât al-kabîr, IVi, 168, 19

The report that Mu'âwiyah sent to 'Uthmân a despatch, that Abû Dharr had caused the Damascenes to riot, on which 'Uthmân sent for the culprit (I.S. IVi, 166, 21), would seem to be tacitly contradicted by the following account, namely: al-Aḥnaf b. Qays went from Medina to Damascus and there sat down by a certain person and asked him who he was. The man answered that he was Abû Dharr and asked him who he was. On al-Aḥnaf's divulging his name, Abû Dharr advised him to get up and leave him, because he had no wish to embarrass him. Asked how he might cause him embarrassment, Abû Dharr replied that Mu'âwiyah had issued a proclamation that no one should sit with him (I.S. IVi, 168, 19).

Reading between the lines one is led to suppose that while Mu'âwiyah was awaiting the caliph's reply to his despatch concerning the riots caused by Abû Dharr, he had promulgated an order that no one should approach their instigator. Now it is strange that a high-ranking officer, recently returned from the Persian front?, proceeding to Damascus to raise recruits, at about the same time, should know nothing of the affair. Surely, if any one had caused riots in Damascus to such an extent, that the governor found it necessary to alert the caliph, the staging posts between Medina and Damascus would have been buzzing with gossip on this point, for rumour travels fast in the East. Besides, since Mu'âwiyah was the first to interest himself in a postal service, one might suppose that any officer of field rank proceeding from Medina to Damascus would have been apprised of the situation by despatch rider, possibly by one of those allegedly carrying despatches concerning Abû Dharr between the two capitals.

But a meeting between Abû Dharr and al-Aḥnaf b. Qays during the

period A.H. 29–31 would hardly seem to come into the realm of probability, because under the command of Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'arî the latter took part, notably A.H. 23 and A.H. 29 in the capture of Ẕumm, Kâshân and Işfahân. And when 'Abdullah b. 'Amir, a cousin of 'Uthmân's attacked Khurâsân, A.H. 30, he set al-Aḥnaf over his vanguard (al-Balâdhurî, *Futûḥ al-Buldân*, p. 403, 8). Under 'Abdullah b. 'Amir's orders he conquered Ẕuhistân, Harât, Marw, Marw al-Rudh and Balkh and other districts near Marw al-Rudh. He even led his troops as far as the plains of Ẕukhâristân, thus preventing Yazdagird, the last king of Persia from organising further resistance against the Muslims. We must now, therefore, ask what purpose this account was meant to serve, and this would seem to be the belittling both of Abû Dharr and of his affair, because a newcomer from Medina to Damascus is made to ask Abû Dharr, so often called a Companion of the Prophet, his name! And to be ignorant of the reason why his approaching him would bring trouble on his head. We lean therefore to the opinion that there were no riots, mainly because it is Sayf b. 'Umar, the imaginative traditionist, who speaks of Abû Dharr's inciting the poor against the rich in Damascus, and accordingly that there was no proclamation: Abû Dharr's preaching of austerity had fallen on stony and thorny ground.

That Ibn Sa'd does not place these two mutually contradictory accounts side by side, separating them by as much as a page of other materials, might possibly betray a studied pose of indifference towards the affair—or the unwillingness to speak of a delicate matter.

It is interesting to note in passing that al-Aḥnaf b. Ẕays was instrumental in procuring the conversion of his tribe to Islam. This was said of Abû Dharr. But his tribe did not accept Islam before the fall of Mecca, A.H. 8!

Abû Dharr's Difference with Mu'âwiyah concerning Koran, IX, 34–35

The Tradition According to Zayd b. Wahb, X A.H. 96

The earliest available account on this subject is the tradition ascribed to Zayd b. Wahb who tells us quite briefly that Abû Dharr settled in al-Rabadhah because of a difference of opinion with Mu'âwiyah on the interpretation of Koran, IX, 34–35. This is the only direct reference to this quarrel that Ibn Sa'd (X A.D. 845) produces in some twenty pages of Arabic on Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî, (but see Ibn Sa'd IV, 166, 21.)

al-Bukhârî (X A.D. 870) and al-Ṭabarî (X A.D. 923) reproduce it. al-Ṭabarî gives also a longer account resting on the authority of Sayf b. 'Umar of the Iraqi school, in which the account of Zayd b. Wahb is

treated in greater detail. The wealth of detail is to be ascribed to Sayf's fruitful imagination. Abû Dharr is made to quarrel with Mu'âwiyah about the use or rather misuse of public moneys/mâl Allâh (Allâh means here not God but the state). al-Ṭabarî confessedly stands on the side of those who in this matter excuse Mu'âwiyah, one of the best kings that the Arabs ever had.

In his commentary on the account according to Zayd b. Wahb, reproduced by al-Bukhârî in his Ṣaḥîḥ (a commentary on the Koran), al-Ḳastallânî (X A.D. 1517) interpolates his comments telling us that Mu'âwiyah's troops (most of whom were Christians) lent their sympathy to Abû Dharr and that both 'Uthmân and Mu'âwiyah feared the population of their respective capitals Medina and Damascus because of Abû Dharr's ranting. He tells us further that Abû Dharr suffered much counter-argument and controversy, but that he did not fear the abuse of him that abused him, which may be an allusion to Mu'âwiyah, seeing that this last sentence is elsewhere put into the mouth of 'Alî, Mu'âwiyah's enemy.

1. al-Ṭabarî—Tafsîr al-Ḳur'ân, X, 75

Abû Dharr said: I went forth to Syria and recited this verse: But to those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the Way of God (Koran, IX, 34). So Mu'âwiyah said: It concerns Jews and Christians/ahl al-kitâb. So I said it concerns us and them.

2. al-Bukhârî—Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî, III, 250

Zayd b. Wahb said: I met Abû Dharr in al-Rabadhah and asked him what had moved him to settle in that region. He answered: We were in Syria and I recited: But to those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the Way of God, announce tidings of a grievous torment (Koran, IX, 34). Mu'âwiyah maintained that this did not concern Muslims but Jews and Christians/ahl al-kitâb. But I declared that it concerned us and them.

3. al-Ṭabarî—Tafsîr al-Ḳur'ân, X, 75

Zayd b. Wahb said: As I went through al-Rabadhah I encountered Abû Dharr. So I said: O Abû Dharr, what hath moved thee to settle here. He answered and said: I was in Syria and recited this verse: But to those who treasure up gold and silver (Koran, IX, 34). So Mu'âwiyah said: This verse doth not concern us, but Jews and Christians/ahl al-kitâb. By reason of that there arose a discussion between us. So he wrote to 'Uthmân complaining about me. So 'Uthmân wrote to me, saying: Come to me. So I went. And when I arrived at Medina the

people jostled me as if they had never seen me before. So I complained about that to 'Uthmân. So he said to me: Retire nearby. I said: By God, I shall never forbear from that which I was saying.

4. The Tradition According to Zayd b. Wahb, I.S. IVi, 166, 13; Bu, I, 355

Zayd b. Wahb was passing through al-Rabadhah where he met Abû Dharr. On his asking him what had moved him to settle down there Abû Dharr replied that he and Mu'âwiyah had disagreed in Syria concerning Koran, IX, 34: 'those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the Way of God'. Mu'âwiyah had asserted that this was revealed concerning Jews and Christians while Abû Dharr had maintained that it was revealed concerning Muslims, Jews and Christians. Accordingly a controversy on this point arose between Mu'âwiyah and Abû Dharr. Thereupon Mu'âwiyah wrote to 'Uthmân complaining about Abû Dharr. So 'Uthmân wrote to Abû Dharr that he should come to Medina. So he went thither. There the people so crowded about him as if they had never seen him before. So Abû Dharr mentioned that to 'Uthmân, who then said to him, that if he so wished he could turn aside, and that he would then be a neighbour. And that is what moved Abû Dharr to settle in al-Rabadhah. Abû Dharr added that if an Abyssinian were to be invested with authority he would hear and obey (him).

al-Ḳastallânî's Commentary to Zayd b. Wahb

Irshâd al-sârî ilâ sharḥ ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî, III, 10-20

"Abû Sulaymân al-Hamdânî al-Jahannî al-Kûfî said: While I was passing through al-Rabadhah (a place three days' journey distant from Medina, in which Abû Dharr's tomb lies) I there met Abû Dharr (or more properly speaking—Jundub b. Junâdah). So I said to him: What moved thee to settle here? (Zayd asked him that because those who hated 'Uthmân reviled him, stating that he had banished Abû Dharr. But Abû Dharr declared that his settling in that place was voluntary, as will appear shortly if God will.) Abû Dharr said: I was in Syria, that is, in Damascus and Mu'âwiyah b. abî Sufyân and I fell out (this happened while he was 'Uthmân's governor of Damascus)¹ with regard to those concerning whom was revealed God's dictum, namely: But to those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the Way of God, announce tidings of a grievous torment (Koran, IX, 34).

¹ The comments in brackets belong to al-Ḳastallânî.

Mu'âwiyah said: it was revealed concerning Jews and Christians/ahl al-kitâb. (With regard to the context of the verse it was revealed concerning rabbis and monks and those (Muslims) that do not render the poor-rate/zakât. Abû Dharr said: I said: It was revealed concerning us and them (with regard to the context of the verse). And thus a controversy on that point arose between us. (But it was said that the counterargument against him and the controversy with him were great, although Mu'âwiyah's army sympathised with Abû Dharr.) But for God's sake he feared not the reproach of the reproacher. And Mu'âwiyah wrote (when he feared that conflict and sedition would break out among the Muslims) to 'Uthmân complaining about me (either by reason of this particular event or in general). So 'Uthman wrote to me telling me to come to Medina. So I went thither. And the people gathered about me (that is asking him about the reason of his departure from Damascus and about that which had happened between him and Mu'âwiyah) as if they had never seen me before. So I mentioned that to 'Uthmân. So he said to me, if thou shouldst so wish, thou couldst retire to a spot where thou wouldst be near. ('Uthmân feared the people of Medina as much as Mu'âwiyah had feared the people of Damascus.)¹ And that is what moved me to settle here. And if they were to give an Abyssinian slave authority over me I should listen to his voice and obey his command."

al-Tabarî-Ta'rikh al-rusul wa 'l-mulûk, Iv, 2858 ff.

In this year, I mean A.H. 30,² there occurred that which was related concerning Abû Dharr and Mu'âwiyah and Mu'âwiyah's evicting him from Damascus to Medina. Many things having been said already about Mu'âwiyah's expulsion of Abû Dharr from Syria to Medina I should not like to say anything that would increase them. As for those who excuse Mu'âwiyah they have related concerning that a story in which Sarî mentions that Shu'ayb told him on the authority of Sayf on the authority of 'Atîyah on the authority of Yazîd al-Faḡ'asî who said that when Ibn al-Sawdâ' came to Damascus he met Abû Dharr and asked him if he were not surprised that Mu'âwiyah was calling all property mâl Allâh/the property of Allâh (i.e. the property of the state). He added that everything indeed belonged to Allâh (i.e. the state) and that it seemed that Mu'âwiyah had the intention of seizing the Muslims' entire

¹The comments in brackets belong to al-Ḳastallânî.

²The year in which signs of discontent with 'Uthmân first manifested themselves, and that in Iraq.

* counter-argument

possessions and of annihilating their name. Thereupon Abû Dharr asked Mu'âwiyah what led him to call the property of the Muslims the property of the state/mâl Allâh. Mu'âwiyah replied that he wished God to show mercy on Abû Dharr and asked him whether they were not God's servants; all property His property and all creatures His creatures; and the dominion His dominion. Then he asked Abû Dharr whether he too were likeminded in this matter. Abû Dharr told him not to say that for he did not say that it belonged to the state/Allâh and that he called it the property of the Muslims/mâl al-muslimîn.

al-Ṭabarî, X, A.D. 923

Although al-Ṭabarî treats of the caliphate of 'Alî with greater detail than does Ibn Sa'd, and sets 'Alî forth, as does also Ibn Sa'd, as the pious warrior who kills no fugitive, does not slay the wounded, spares women and does not plunder and is nevertheless a lion in battle, he leans, in the matter of Abû Dharr on Sayf b. 'Umar, who represents not only an imaginative, romantic and inaccurate school of historians of Iraqi origin, but also a plainly orthodox tendency, in no way favourable to the faction of 'Alî. According to Caetani (*Annali*, VIII, pp. 366–379) the school represented by Sayf b. 'Umar adopted the course of defending 'Uthmân's lieutenants in order to defend the caliph himself from the accusations of his enemies. Not only does al-Ṭabarî ignore 'Alî in this affair but he also reproduces an account of those who excuse Mu'âwiyah in the matter of his sending Abû Dharr from Damascus to Medina. He says too, indeed, that he would not like to mention the greater part of the numerous things said concerning the reason for Mu'âwiyah's sending Abû Dharr from Damascus to Medina (IV, 2858 ff.).

al-Ṭabarî died at Baghdad, A.D. 923, during the caliphate of the weak and incapable 'Abbâsid, al-Muḩṭadir (908–932).

*Abû Dharr's Difference with Mu'âwiyah concerning
Koran, IX, 34–35¹*

al-Ṭabarî—Ta'rikh al-rusul wa 'l-mulûk, Iv, 2858 ff.

The account according to Sayf b. 'Umar begins with a sensational turn that is meant to defend Abû Dharr's revolt. Ibn al-Sawdâ' is no other than 'Abdullah b. Saba', a figure that always has to bear the brunt as soon as Sayf needs a scapegoat. Here he incites Abû Dharr against Mu'âwiyah, but is denounced by 'Ubâdah b. al-Ṣâmit to the latter in

¹ cf. Cameron, A. J., *Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî*, Cologne, 1963, p. 27.

order to unburden the former. Moreover, in the accusations against Mu'āwiyah insinuated to Abū Dharr by Ibn al-Sawdā', a further cause for the conflict is indicated. This goes back to the seizure decreed by the caliph 'Umar of latifundia, mostly domains in the Sawād, the fertile plains of Iraq. This measure, or rather the actual and the supposed misuse of the ground-rent later produced discontent in Kufah and Baṣrah. Therefore this reason for Abū Dharr's public appearance is out of place and anachronistic, for one no longer knew the programme with which he confronted Mu'āwiyah and with which he, perhaps, excited the masses, because Abū Dharr had been buried (A.H. 31/A.D. 651) when the agitation against the caliph 'Uthmān began. The wire-pullers were companions of the prophet, but in no way moved by religious scruples to their deeds, time servers, so far as they were won for the cause, and probably had complaints against the power of the authorities that gradually made itself palpable. The mutiny against 'Uthmān ended, as is known, in his being murdered A.H. 35. There followed, amidst tumults, the election of 'Alī to the caliphate. In the same year the Battle of the Camel was fought at Ṣiffīn, in which 'Alī conquered Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, companions of the prophet, and 'Ā'ishah, the daughter of Abū Bakr the first caliph and widow of the prophet. A.H. 37 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah fought battles with each other. A.H. 38 'Alī attacked the newly emerged nonconformist sect of the Kharijites at Nahrawān and well nigh annihilated it. A.H. 40 'Alī was murdered. In nineteen years of peace the empire of the muslim Arabs grew inwardly and outwardly, but germs of discontent remained. Immediately after Mu'āwiyah's death A.H. 60 the second civil war began to emerge. When this ended, A.H. 73, it was too late to ascertain Abū Dharr's programme. 'Urwa b.al-Zubayr certainly knew Abū Dharr's life, because he as the first one occupied himself with the history of the prophet and his exemplary commission and omission/sunnah. But because he was the brother of 'Abdullah b.al-Zubayr and of Muṣ'ab b.al-Zubayr and had himself with difficulty escaped the catastrophe in the second civil war in which both his brothers perished, he will probably have taken care to avoid grasping the glowing iron. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (X, A.D. 742), one of the few traditionists that we know of this period, stood too far away in time from the matter to ascertain the cause of the quarrel between Mu'āwiyah and Abū Dharr. And this applies naturally to sources of a period later than that of al-Zuhri, and thus to all our sources.¹

¹ Cameron, A. J., *Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī*, Cologne, 1963, p. 27.

Ibn al-Sawdâ' went to Abû al-Dardâ' who asked him who he was, adding that he took him for a Jew. So Ibn al-Sawdâ' went and joined 'Ubâdah b. al-Şâmit who took him to Mu'âwiyah and told him that this was the fellow that had sent Abû Dharr to him.

Abû Dharr arose in Damascus declaiming: O believers, of a truth, many of the teachers and monks do devour man's substance in vanity, and turn them from the Way of God. But to those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the Way of God, announce tidings of a grievous torment. On that day their treasures shall be heated in hell fire, and their foreheads, and their sides, and their backs, shall be branded with them . . . (Koran, IX, 34-35). This is what ye have treasured up for yourselves, taste, therefore, your treasures. He continued thus until he had incited the poor against the rich, and the latter had complained to Mu'âwiyah about the behaviour of the mob. Thereupon Mu'âwiyah wrote to 'Uthmân complaining that Abû Dharr had created difficulties for him. 'Uthmân's reply ran thus: Sedition hath put forth its snout and eyes. It only remaineth now for it to break out. But take not the scab from the wound! Fit Abû Dharr out, furnish him with provender, be gentle to him and send him to me with a guide. Subdue the people! Accordingly Mu'âwiyah sent Abû Dharr with a guide to 'Uthmân.

When Abû Dharr arrived at Medina and saw the crowds at the foot of Mount Sal' he said: Announce to the city hostilities and murderous war. Then he went into 'Uthmân's presence. There 'Uthmân asked him what ailed the people of Damascus that they should complain of his sharp tongue. Thereupon Abû Dharr told 'Uthmân that one should not call the property of the Muslims the property of the state, and that the rich should not amass wealth. 'Uthmân answered that it was his responsibility to decide what was incumbent on him and that he took what was obligatory on his subjects whom he did not compel to practise asceticism although he did encourage them to endeavour and moderation. Abû Dharr then begged 'Uthmân to allow him to leave Medina because the city was no place for him. 'Uthmân rejoined that he would receive in its place nothing but evil. Abû Dharr answered that the apostle of God had commanded him to leave Medina when the construction/al-binâ' (other sources give al-naba'/news) reached Mount Sal' (in Medina). So 'Uthmân told Abû Dharr to execute the command that the prophet had given to him. Accordingly he left for al-Rabadhah and there designed a mosque. 'Uthmân gave him a troop of camels and slaves and sent him an invitation to renew acquaintance with Medina to

get away from the Bedouins. And he did (that), for he often returned to Medina from al-Rabadhah out of fear of the Bedouins, although he loved solitude and solitariness. On one occasion he went into 'Uthmân's presence while Ka'b al-aḥbâr was with him and told 'Uthmân to approve of no one until he had rendered that which was acceptable to God. He told him too that it was incumbent on the payer of the poor-rate that this should not be diminished so that he might do good to his own neighbours, and brothers and strengthen family ties (cf. al-Shushtarî). Ka'b al-aḥbâr said that he who pays the allotted portion/farîḍah discharges thus his duty (to God and man). So Abû Dharr raising his staff struck him and split his head. So 'Uthman requested the staff as a gift, and Abû Dharr gave it to him. Then he said: Abû Dharr, fear God and restrain thy hand and tongue. For he had said to Ka'b al-aḥbâr: O son of a Jewess, who art thou and what seekest thou here? By God! thou shalt surely hear of me, or I shall come unto thee.

Abû Dharr departed for al-Rabadhah of his own free will after he had perceived that 'Uthmân would not dismiss him. And Mu'âwiyah sent his people after him. So they went out after him. Now with Abû Dharr's party was a bag as heavy as a man's hand. So one said: Look at this fellow who urges (others) to self-denial in this world, and see what he has. So his wife said: Surely by God! there is neither gold nor silver in it (the bag), nothing but coppers. When his stipend came I used to buy coppers with it for our needs.

Now when Abû Dharr arrived at al-Rabadhah the ritual prayer was being celebrated, and a man in charge of alms/ṣadaqah was conducting it, and he said to Abû Dharr: Come forward. But he said: No. Draw thou near for the apostle of God told me to hear and obey even if the one set over me were a mutilated slave. Thou indeed art a slave, albeit not mutilated. And he was in charge of the alms/ṣadaqah, was black and was called Mujashi'.

Commentary on the Interpretation of Koran, IX, 34–35

al-Ṭabarî (X, A.D. 923)

Tafsîr al-ḡur'ân, X, 72

The passage is both of particular and of general application.

It is of particular application to those Muslims that do not pay the poor-rate on their property and to the Jews and Christians/ahl al-kitâb, for they are infidels.

al-Zamakhsharî (X, A.D. 1144)

Kashshâf, 391, 22

"But to those who treasure up (gold and silver)" may be an allusion to the majority of rabbis and monks, that is to the combination of two reprehensible habits among them, namely the taking of bribes and the hoarding of wealth, and niggardliness with it (which keeps them from expending it on the path of piety).

It may allude to those Muslims that hoard, not spending and driving hard bargains with Jewish and Christian customers.

It is an allusion also to those that take unlawful gain (such as usury).

al-Râzî (X, A.D. 1209)

al-Tafsîr al-kabîr, III, 440, 23

Three cases are probable, namely:

- a) that Koran, IX, 34 alludes to rabbis and monks
- b) to those Muslims that were niggardly with regard to the poor-rate
- c) to all those that hoarded wealth and did not produce the imposts whether they were rabbis, monks or Muslims.

al-Bayḍawî (X, A.D. 1282)

Anwâr al-tanzîl wa asrâr al-ta'wîl, III, 66

al-Bayḍawî is of the opinion that this passage may refer to the majority of rabbis and christian monks; that it is an allusion to their traditional avarice and niggardliness; also that it refers to those Muslims who amass wealth without paying the poor rate on it. He says further that it is associated with Christian and Jewish customers with whom Muslims drive hard bargains.

al-Ḳastallânî (X, A.D. 1448)

Kitâb irshâd, III, 7, 4

The passage is of general application to both Muslims and Jews and Christians/ahl al-kitâb. In the context of that which has been compiled concerning it (i.e. this passage—there is an indication against those who hold the view that it was of particular application to the infidels (Jews and Christians). Moreover the threat mentioned concerns all that on which the poor rate has not been paid.

al-Âlûsî (X, A.D. 1853)

Rûḥ al-ma'ânî fî tafsîr al-Ḳur'ân, III, 300–301

Abû Dharr took the verse literally and considered it obligatory to give all property away exceeding one's personal needs. Accordingly there happened between him and Mu'âwiyah in Syria that of which Mu'âwiyah complained to 'Uṭhmân who recalled him to Medina where he persisted in his teaching. Those who objected to his teaching were numerous. The people recited to him the verse on inheritance/âyat mawârîth, saying to him, that if one has to give all one's superfluous goods away then this verse has no justification. And they gathered about him, thronging him where he was staying and laughing at him. So he decided to withdraw, and consulted 'Uṭhmân, who invited him to go to al-Rabadhah, where he dwelt according to his own wishes.

All these commentators except al-Âlûsî agree that Koran, IX, 34–35, applies not only to Jews and Christians but also to Muslims. al-Âlûsî avoids the issue. Nevertheless al-Azhar supports al-Âlûsî.

*Abû Dharr's Difference with Mu'âwiyah concerning
Koran, IX, 34–35*

al-Âlûsî

al-Âlûsî (X, A.D. 1853) probably building on the foundation laid by al-Ḳastallânî tells us that the objectors to Abû Dharr's doctrine refuted the same by reciting the passage of the Koran on inheritance/âyat al-mawârîth (actually there are several passages on inheritance) which, they maintained, could not be valid, if that which Abû Dharr was preaching were true. Now the very existence of a corps of Koran reciters/ḳurrâ' raises the question how many Muslims of the period could have read the Koran, even if they had possessed a copy of it about the time of 'Uṭhmân's destruction of those exemplars of it existing at the time of his recension of the Koran, A.H. 32, concerning which Abû Dharr is reputed to have rebuked the caliph, although he died about the end of A.H. 31. One wonders why the pious 'Uṭhmân, who according to the tradition died reading the Koran, or Mu'âwiyah, or a companion of the prophet of Abû Dharr's stature, or one of those who could recite the Koran by heart/ḥuffâẓ, or Ka'b al-aḥbâr is not made to refute Abû Dharr's teaching in the same way. The picture of the pious community reading forth the relevant passage from well-thumbed, dog-eared copies of the Koran, or reciting it from memory is touching indeed, but it belongs to the ideal image of the Islamic com-

munity in its tender years. Thus one asks what Abû Dharr actually did discuss with Mu'âwiyah. Further one will wish to know whence al-Âlûsî obtained his materials in the nineteenth century and will suppose that he puts his own opinion forth as tradition. It is strange that al-Azhar accepts such a late authority.

The very report of a difference of opinion between the governor of Syria, who afterwards became caliph, A.H. 40, and Abû Dharr raises the latter's stature to that of a John before Herod and could rest on tendentious shaping with just such an end in view.

al-Ahrâm, Cairo, 28.3.48 — 28.3.1948

"The Egyptian minister for the interior handed to the rector of the university al-Azhar a book whose author occupies himself with the doctrine of Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî, and draws the conclusion that communism exists in Islam. The minister wished to have the opinion of the university al-Azhar in this matter, and to know whether one might publish the book.¹ The ordinances panel of the university al-Azhar studied the matter and gave the following answer: "Consideration for property exists among the principles of Islam; every one may employ permitted ways and means of procuring money and may increase it as he will and can and may likewise possess whatsoever he will.

"All the companions of Mohammed and the doctors of the Ijtihâd (al-fuḳahâ'al-mujtahidûna) were of the opinion, that the goods of the rich had no limits other than those that have been set by God, as for example the poor-rate (zakât), the tribute (kharâj), compulsory allotments in marriage or for relatives, outlays that become obligatory in unforeseen cases, as e.g. aid for an unfortunate person; gifts of food given to a poor, hungry person and the obligation to settle a debt and those outlays that are necessary for the defence of one's country or for the maintenance of its order when the sums in the treasury (Bayt al-mâl) are not sufficient: thus is (the matter) explained in the commentaries on the Koran, the Sunnah and in the works of orthodox Muslims.

"This is the duty according to which Islam summons every Muslim who can, to give voluntarily according to the measure of his choice (his money) for good works, without exaggeration and waste, as God says: Let not thy hand be chained to the back of thy neck, (i.e. be not

¹ Repeated inquiries addressed to al-Azhar concerning this book remain unanswered.

niggardly), nor stretch it opened too far out, (i.e. be not wasteful), lest thou shouldst be reproved (and) must sit down spent (Koran, xvii, 31). And as He also says praising His servants whom He praises: And who when they contribute (of their goods in alms) are neither wasteful nor niggardly, but (their contribution is moderate between the two) between the two extremes (Koran, xxv, 67).

“Against this Abû Dharr was of the opinion that every one must lay out the money that exceeds his own needs for pious purposes (fî sabîl Allâh), and that it be not allowed to amass the money that exceeds his needs and those of his family. This is Abû Dharr’s opinion, but it is not known that any one of Mohammed’s companions shared it with him. Many muslim scholars took on themselves the task of combating his doctrine by approving against it the opinion of all the companions of Mohammed and that of the generation immediately after Mohammed, because there is no shadow of doubt that Abû Dharr was mistaken in this opinion. Indeed this opinion is strange in such an illustrious companion of Mohammed as Abû Dharr, for it is far removed from the principles of Islam and the plain truth. His contemporaries disapproved of his opinion and found it strange. In his commentary on the Koran al-Âlûsî¹ says, after explaining Abû Dharr’s doctrine: The opponents of this theory were numerous; they read out to him the verses of the Koran dealing with inheritance² and said to him: If one has to give all one’s goods away, then these verses of the Koran have no justification . . .

“From all this it is clear, that such an opinion is erroneous, and that he who formulated it, is caught in error. One may therefore not follow it because it is clear that he has deceived himself and because his opinion is not agreeable to the Koran, the Sunnah and the regulations of Islam.

“Because of this inflammatory doctrine al-Mu’âwiyah the governor of Syria requested the caliph ‘Uthmân to recall Abû Dharr from Damascus, where he was dwelling at that time, to Medina. The caliph called him back and after he had continued to spread his doctrine compelled him to dwell in al-Rabadhah a remote spot between Mecca and Medina, where he died.

“It is clear from all that we have said that the contents of the book: *Communism in Islam* (al-shuyû’iyah fî ’l-Islam) does not agree with the principles of Islam, as it is also clear that there is no communism in Islam (lâ shuyû’iyah fî ’l-Islam) in the sense which the compiler of this

¹ Bulâk, 1892.

² Koran, II, 176, 241; IV, 8–16, 23, 137, 175.

book means in general and to which he refers. Therefore it seems to us that such a book should not be broadcast, so that it may not be used to undermine order and lead to corruption among those who are lukewarm in the faith and ignorant concerning the principles of Islam." al-Ahrâm, Cairo, 28.3.48. 28.3.1948

This may be the best point at which to introduce, as a corollary to the materials on the fatwâ pronounced by the Ulama of al-Azhar, sketches by two scholars of the nineteenth century, namely Sir William Muir and Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî, thinker, reformer and politician. Both would seem to make much of the story of Abû Dharr's distribution to the poor and needy of a thousand pieces of gold, said to have been sent to him by Mu'âwiyah. Unfortunately, this tale appears, so far as we are aware, for the first time with al-Dhahabî, a very late source, who died A.D. 1348. The lateness of this tale makes its authenticity very questionable. It may, perhaps, be regarded as a tale invented on the strength of Abû Dharr's preaching from Koran, IX, 34-35.

al-Balâdhurî, X, A.D. 892

al-Balâdhurî, an Arabic-writing Persian, was a confidant of al-Mutawakkil, who in the second year of his caliphate, A.D. 848, after putting an end to the persecution of the orthodox begun A.D. 833 by al-Ma'mûn and continued by his seccessors, resumed the early practice of persecuting the faction of 'Alî, during which he destroyed the tombs of 'Ali and H̱usayn. His orthodoxy did not prevent his jailing his Nestorian physician for refusing to concoct poison for an enemy. Nevertheless, al-Balâdhurî, although he almost completely ignores 'Alî in his writings, betrays his 'Alid sympathies by his inimical attitude towards 'Uthmân and his kinsman Mu'âwiyah. He alone makes Abû Dharr criticise 'Uthmân in the matter of the distribution of the spoils taken in NW Africa, A.H. 27. Furthermore he boldly imputes cruelty toward Abu Dharr to 'Uthmân and Mu'âwiyah and makes 'Uthmân send him to al-Rabadhah—although he does add other accounts according to which Abû Dharr withdrew to that spot of his own free will. Some will, therefore, be inclined to allow that al-Balâdhurî must have suppressed his account of Abû Dharr until al-Mutawakkil was murdered, A.D. 861, by the Turks at the instigation of his own son.

al-Balâdhurî was one of the first to compile the numerous stories of the Arab conquests into one comprehensive whole, thus ending the era in which the monograph was the usual form of historical composition. One detects similar treatment of the fragments about Abû Dharr, which

he has drawn up into a well-rounded narrative. We have already met some of these fragments, that is, the allegation that Mohammed had commanded him to leave Medina for Syria, I.S., IVi, 166, 21, as well as the one dealing with the quarrel between Abû Dharr and Ka'b al-aḥbâr.

It is noteworthy, that al-Balâdhuri makes Syria Abû Dharr's station.

al-Balâdhurî, X, A.D. 892—Ansâb al-ashrâf, V, 52–53

*The affair of Abû Dharr Jundub b. Junâdah al-Ghifârî
of the Banû Kinânah b. Khuzaymah*

It has been related that when 'Uthmân gave Marwân al-Ḥakam that which he gave to him (15,000 dirhams from the booty taken in North Africa A.H. 27) and gave al-Ḥârith b. al-Ḥakam b. abî 'l-Âṣ 300,000 dirhams and gave Zayd b. Thâbit al-anṣârî 100,000 dirhams Abû Dharr burst out preaching: Announce a painful penalty to those that lay up treasure, and recited the utterance of God, namely: But to those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the Way of God, announce tidings of a grievous torment (Koran, IX, 34). So Marwân the son of al-Ḥakam (a bitter enemy of Islam) reported the matter to 'Uthmân. So he sent Nâtil his freedman to Abû Dharr saying: Forbear from that which hath reached me concerning thee. To this Abû Dharr replied: Doth 'Uthmân forbid me to recite the word of God and the vices of those that have forsaken God's commandment? By God! If God be pleased at 'Uthmân's wrath that would be for me better and preferable than that God should be angered by (my) being satisfied with 'Uthmân. This both annoyed and offended 'Uthmân but he constrained himself.

One day 'Uthmân posed the question whether it be lawful for the imâm to take funds from the treasury. Ka'b al-aḥbâr (a converted Jew) expressed the opinion that there be nothing wrong with that. So Abû Dharr said: O thou son of Jewish parents, dost thou teach us our religion? Thereupon 'Uthmân said: How greatly thou dost offend me and goad my companions! Depart to thy station/maktab. Now his station was in Syria when he was not on a pilgrimage. So he craved leave of 'Uthmân to betake himself first to the region about the tomb of the apostle of God. This he granted to him. But Syria became his station, because, perceiving that the building(s)/al-binâ'¹ had reached

¹This should be al-naba'/news, cf. I.S., IVi, 166, 21 above.

Mount Sal' (in Medina) he said to 'Uthmân I heard the apostle of God say: When the building(s) reach Mount Sal', then depart! So permit me to depart to Syria, that I may go thither. So he gave him leave to go.

(In Syria) Abû Dharr criticised Mu'âwiyah for some of the things that he was doing. So Mu'âwiyah sent him three hundred dinars. He responded by saying: If this be my stipend which thou hast withheld from me for a year I shall accept it. But if it should be a gift, then I have no need of it. Then Mu'âwiyah sent Ḥabîb b. Maslamah (one of his generals) to Abû Dharr with two hundred dinars, which he refused saying: Dost thou not find it easier for thee than for me when thou sendest me money?

Mu'âwiyah built al-Khaḍrâ' (a palace) in Damascus. So Abû Dharr said: O Mu'âwiyah, if this dwelling hath been built with money from the treasury—it is unfaithfulness (in thy stewardship) and if it came from thy money, it is prodigality. Mu'âwiyah gave him no answer.

Abû Dharr went about (Damascus) saying: By God! Things happen that I do not know. By God! This is neither in God's word nor in the custom/sunnah of His prophet. By God! I see truth perish and vanity thrive, the upright called a liar, mean selfishness persist and the pious dispossessed. So Ḥabîb b. Maslamah reported to Mu'âwiyah: Abû Dharr doth goad Syria against thee and his people believe that thou hast need of him. Accordingly Mu'âwiyah wrote to 'Uthmân about him. 'Uthman wrote back to Mu'âwiyah saying: Convey Jundub to me on the roughest mount that thou hast and treat him harshly. So Mu'âwiyah sent him with his servants who made him travel day and night. Now when Abû Dharr reached Medina he began to declaim: Lads receive preferment. Thou dost protect those whom Mohammed interdicted. Thou drawest nigh to the offspring of those that stiffneckedly withstood Mohammed till he put Mecca to the edge of the sword/al-ṭulaḳâ'. Thereupon 'Uthmân sent word to him saying: Go whithersoever thou wilt. So he said: To Mecca. But 'Uthmân said: No. So he said: To Jerusalem. Again 'Uthmân refused to acquiesce. So he said: To upper or lower Egypt. 'Uthmân replied: No—behold I send thee to al-Rabadhah. So he sent him thither, and he dwelt there until he died. But it was related that 'Uthmân said to Abû Dharr when he came from Syria: It is better for thee that we should stay together than that we should remain apart. Milch camels will be brought to thee morning and evening. But Abû Dharr said: I have no need of thy world: Lo, I depart to al-Rabadhah. So he let him go thither. And he went thither and died there.

Abû Dharr and the Faction of 'Alî

In order to be able to examine the following 'Alid accounts of Abû Dharr's conflict with the secularists one needs here a few words on the faction of 'Alî.

On Mohammed's death a quarrel broke out concerning his successor. There were four groups to this dispute: the Emigrants/muhâjirûn whose claim rested on their belonging to Mohammed's tribe and on their having been the first to accept Islam. The Supporters/anşâr who maintained that if they had not sheltered Mohammed and incipient Islam both would have perished. These two groups later amalgamated to form the Companions/şahâbah. Then came the Legitimists whose case was that God and Mohammed would not have left the Muslims to the whims of an electorate, and must, therefore, have made clear provision for their leadership by predestinating a successor. This group thus held to the divine right of succession. In their view 'Alî, a paternal cousin of Mohammed, the husband of his only surviving daughter, Fâtimah, and one of the first to believe in him, was the rightful successor. It was said that 'Uthmân in his recension of the Koran expunged from this book a verse that established 'Alî's right to the succession. In this sense Abû Dharr is said to have advised 'Uthmân against this recension.¹ But Abû Dharr died A.H. 31 and thus before the alteration of the Koran, which took place A.H. 32 by reason of conditions prevailing during the war against Armenia. The last but by no means the least powerful group was the aristocracy of the Quraysh, who had not only bitterly persecuted Mohammed in the early days of his mission but had also under Abû Sufyân continued their opposition till the fall of Mecca, A.H. 8.

The aged and pious Abû Bakr, one of the first to believe in Mohammed and his constant companion on all his campaigns was proclaimed Mohammed's successor at a convenient moment by 'Umar, who then hastened to swear him allegiance. Many of those present, most of the Companions and many Medinans then followed the example of 'Umar, who thus composed this quarrel.

Although Ibn Ishâk (1015f.) and al-Tabarî (I, 820f) will have us believe that the election was conducted in an orderly manner, one suspects an attempt to simplify the actual events and to detract from their violent character, for their reports betray, that the nomination could not have ensued on the unanimous wish of the community but

¹ al-Majlisî, *Biḥâr al-anwâr*, VIII, 346.

rather that it assumed the character of a tumultuous proclamation at which only the small congregation that happened to be present decided the issue. In any case there was no precedent in the early history of Islam that the community could have followed. That it was a riotous assembly is shown by other reports (Donaldson, 13–16) according to which a number of people hesitated for several days before they one by one paid homage to Abû Bakr. Among these was 'Alî who refused to swear allegiance to the new caliph because he had refuted his claim on behalf of his wife, Fâtimah, on the property at Fadak that had belonged to her father, Mohammed. Because of this certain of the Emigrants and the Supporters also allegedly declined to pay homage and went over to 'Alî's side. Among these are mentioned Abû Dharr, al-Miḡdâd b. al-Aswad, and Salmân al-Fârisî, the trio that is said to have constituted the original Faction of 'Alî/shî'at 'Alî. With these we find also the name of 'Ammâr b. Yâsir, who was renowned for his warlike exploits.

Against this stands the report that 'Alî's hesitation to recognise Abû Bakr as Mohammed's rightful successor lasted no more than six months, ceasing on the demise of his wife Fâtimah (al-Ṭabarî, I, 1826 and al-Balâdhurî, 30f.); as also the report according to Ibn Sa'd (III, 20, 14f.) that 'Ammâr b. Yâsir did not take the oath of allegiance to 'Alî until after 'Uthmân's being murdered, A.H. 35. As for Abû Dharr, there is nothing to show that he ever had any relationship to 'Alî, indeed all the evidence that we do possess points to long service in the forces of 'Umar, 'Uthmân and Mu'âwiyah, the two latter being 'Alî's enemies in the eyes of the faction that supported him.

Through the tendentious reshaping of Abû Dharr's attacks on those that were niggardly towards God into a controversy with 'Uthmân and his ilk Abû Dharr came to be adopted by the partisans of 'Alî as one of their own, indeed they claimed him to be, as we have already seen, one of the original faction of 'Alî, allegedly formed on the passing away of Mohammed.

It is interesting that this story, as also Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's factual report of Abû Dharr's house in Cairo, stands in flat contradiction of the accounts that Abû Dharr went about preaching that it be unlawful to possess anything superfluous to one's immediate needs. Such doctrine, if ever he uttered it, would have precluded his supporting 'Alî's claim on behalf of his wife Fâtimah and ought to have made him support Abû Bakr's refutation of it. Abû Dharr must have known that such preaching contradicted the clear Coranic instructions concerning inheritance.

We adduce here an account containing an attempt to claim Abû Dharr for the faction of 'Alî at an early point in time. According to this story Abû Dharr preached to a crowd that gathered after (how long after?) Mohammed had died (on the 8th June A.D. 632/A.H. 11) of the Medina fever. His address contains well known shî'ite tenets, namely, that the holy family, that is, 'Alî, Fâṭimah and their sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and the Koran are the two treasures of the earth, and that the holy family is the ark of Noah, that is, the only way of salvation. Abû Dharr is made to say that he had heard certain things from Mohammed as he lay at the point of death, although he is not named among those that waited on the Prophet as he passed away. Although Mohammed on his return from his farewell pilgrimage had said to the people, that he would leave among them two important things, the first more important than the other; the Koran and his family, Abû Dharr is made to declare the one equal to the other.

al-Ya'qûbî makes Abû Dharr preach in a similar strain some twenty years later during the caliphate of 'Uthmân.

With such preaching in mind Huart, in his book: *Geschichte der Araber* (Leipzig, 1914, p. 246) says: He (Abû Dharr) proclaimed for the first time the rights of the family of the Prophet, that is of 'Alî and of the sons of Fâṭimah to the possession of the inheritance left behind by Mohammed, including the right to lead the community of believers. Thereby arose the great fundamental cause for the great counter-movement that split Islam into two inimical branches, the schism that runs right through its history—shî'ism, from shî'ah/faction, namely the faction of the family of the Prophet. Hence the description 'shî'ite'. Its emergence goes, therefore, back to the sermons of Abû Dharr (sic!).

al-Nu'mân b. Muḥammad . . . b. Ḥayyûn, X, A.D. 974

Da'â'im al-Islâm, Cairo, 1951, p. 35

"Abû Dharr was present at the gathering after the demise of the Messenger of God. While the people were flocking together during the circumambulation of the Ka'bah, he stood at the door of the same and addressed them three times. So they assembled themselves, stood still and kept silent. Then he said: Those who know me, know me already. But for those that know me not, I am Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî. I relate unto you that which I heard from the Messenger of God. I heard him say, as he stood at death's threshold: I leave behind among you two important things: God's book and my family—the people of my house—

hold. These two shall not be separated until they both return to me in Paradise, like these two—and he brought his two forefingers together, laying the one upon the other, so that they were equal, saying the while: I say not, as these two—putting the forefinger and the middle finger of his right hand together, because the one is ahead of the other, is it not? But I declare that their likeness standeth among you like unto Noah's ark. Those who boarded it escaped, while those who neglected it, drowned.” cf. Koran, xxix, 15–16.

After ‘Uthmân had recalled Abû Dharr from Damascus to Medina ‘Alî is alleged to have taken sides with him before the caliph by claiming that he had heard Mohammed say that there was no one on earth more upright than Abû Dharr. And on the latter's removal from Medina to al-Rabadhah ‘Alî together with his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and some members of his retinue, including ‘Ammâr b. Yâsir allegedly escorted him part of the way in spite of ‘Uthmân's prohibition of the same. This is said to have led to a lively quarrel between ‘Alî and Marwân b. al-Ḥakam, a cousin of ‘Uthmân's and his chancellor, which is probably no more plausible than the account that ‘Alî, while yet a boy had led Abû Dharr to Mohammed in the early Meccan period of Islâm. More plausible is the tradition according to which Abû Dharr together with his nephew ‘Abdullah b. al-Ṣamîṭ withdrew voluntarily to al-Rabadhah (I.S., IVi, 171, 4–15).

It is noteworthy that Laura V. Vaglieri in her article on ‘Alî in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* lends credence to this story, saying that in political questions ‘Alî ranged himself with ‘Uthmân's opponents . . . e.g. when Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî, who preached against the misdeeds of the powerful, was exiled from Medina, ‘Alî with his sons went to salute (sic! all the variants of this account use the verb *shayya'a*/accompany) him on his departure in spite of ‘Uthmân's prohibition, and provoked thereby a violent dispute with ‘Uthmân. But not one of the fragments on Abû Dharr that may have a degree of historicity connects him with ‘Alî, in fact he served in the forces of ‘Uthmân.

al-Ya'qûbî, X, A.D. 897, al-Mas'ûdî, X, A.D. 956 and al-Shushtarî, martyred at the hands of Shâh Jihângîr, A.D. 1610, being fanatical admirers of ‘Alî spend no time on hagiographic accounts of the years of Abû Dharr's insignificance, probably because the reports of his service in the forces of the orthodox caliphs ‘Umar and ‘Uthmân were a source of great embarrassment to them. Instead they misrepresent his general onslaught on the secularists of the period as a particular attack directed at ‘Uthmân and Mu'âwiyah. Also they make him quarrel with Ka'b

al-aḥbâr, who is made to defend the caliph's policy. Above all they make Abû Dharr a supporter of the cause of 'Alî—and make 'Alî support him against 'Uthmân and quarrel violently with Marwân b. al-Ḥakam, 'Uthmân's cousin, when the latter endeavours to prevent him and his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn from escorting Abû Dharr, in spite of the caliph's prohibition, on the way to al-Rabadhah, whither he had allegedly banished him.

al-Ya'kûbî, X, A.D. 897—Houtsma, II, 198f.

It came to 'Uthmân's notice that Abû Dharr was accustomed to sit in the Mosque of the Prophet, where the people swarmed about him, when he proclaimed those things in which the caliph was blameworthy. Thus he once stood at the door of the mosque, saying: Those who know me, know me already. As for those that know me not—I am Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî; I am Jundab b. Junâdah al-Rabadhî. Verily, above all human beings did God choose Adam, and Noah, and the family of Abraham, and the family of IMRAN, the one the posterity of the other: and God Heareth, Knoweth. (Koran, III, 30, Rodwell, p. 388). As for those descendants that Mohammed authorised to lead, he hath exalted the highest of them and they merit the pre-eminence among such people as are among us as the sublime heavens, the veiled Ka'bah, the established direction of prayer/ḳiblah, the radiant sun, the wandering moon, the guiding stars or as the olive-trees, whose oil (cf. Koran, 24, 35, Rodwell, p. 446) giveth light and whose increase is blessed. Mohammed is the heir of Adam's knowledge and of that by which the prophets were distinguished and 'Alî b. abî Tâlib is the executor of the last will of Mohammed. O flock! perplexed after (the death of) your prophet, if ye had preferred the one that God preferred, and had held back the one that God held back, if ye had recognised the mediatorial office/wilâyah¹ and the right to inheritance in the family of your prophet, so should ye have found food to eat (on the trees) above your heads and (in the earth) beneath your feet. Moreover the walî of God would not have regulated the inheritance quotas/'âla (see El² under

¹ cf. al-Majlisî, *Biḥâr al-anwâr*, VIII, 54, 409, 458.

² Wilâyah is to be understood in the sense of the blessing that Mohammed gave to 'Alî at Ghadîr al-Khumm, namely: O God, be a friend to my friends and an enemy to my enemies. This is one of the main principles of the shî'at 'Alî. Ghadîr al-Khumm is a spring between Mecca and Medina where Shî'ite tradition asserts the prophet declared: Whomsoever I am lord of, his lord is 'Alî also. cf. Ibn Sa'd, vol. v. p. 235; al-Mas'ûdî, *Tanbîh*, pp. 255–256. In memory of this declaration the Shî'ites observe a feast on the 18th of dhu-al-Hijjah.

'awl) and not one of the quotas fixed by God would have been lacking. And no two of you would have quarrelled over God's judgment without finding knowledge of that grounded on God's book and the sunnah of his prophet with them (Mohammed's descendants). But if ye do what ye do, then taste the evil consequences of your affair, (cf. Koran, 64, 5, Rodwell, p. 372; 65, 9, Rodwell, p. 430) and those who have acted unjustly shall find out what a lot awaiteth them, (cf. Koran, 26, 228, Rodwell, p. 111).

'Uthmân heard also that Abû Dharr attacked him by relating that which he had changed in the way of the usages of the apostle of God and of Abû Bakr and banished him for that reason to Mu'âwiyah in Damascus. There also Abû Dharr used to sit in the mosque, saying that which he had uttered hitherto. People crowded about him in growing numbers in order to hear him. He would stand at the gate of Damascus while he was performing the ritual prayer in the morning, saying: May God curse those that speak piety, but do it not. May God curse those that discountenance evil, yet do it. (cf. Koran, IX, 68, Rodwell, p. 478). Accordingly Mu'âwiyah wrote to 'Uthmân, saying: Thou hast incited Damascus against thyself through Abu Dharr. So 'Uthman wrote back, telling him to set Abû Dharr on a packsaddle without a cover (on a mount) and send him off to Medina. (On his arrival) the flesh of his thighs was excoriated. As he went into 'Uthmân's presence while an assembly was with him, the latter said, that it had come to his notice that he declared that when the Banu Umayyah, 'Uthmân's clan, became thirty strong they would seize the land of God as their dominion/dawl; the Muslims as slaves/khawl and the dues accruing to the government/dayn Allâh as their income/dakhl (reading the daghl in the text as dakhl with al-Kashshî, Ma'rifat akhbâr ar-rijâl, p. 16). Abû Dharr replied that he had heard the apostle of God say that. So 'Uthmân asked them (the assembly) whether they had at any time heard the apostle of God say that. (Without waiting for an answer) he sent for 'Alî and asked him whether he had heard the apostle of God say that which Abû Dharr had just related, telling him what he had said. 'Alî replied in the affirmative. So 'Uthmân asked him how he could prove that. So 'Alî said: According to the word of the apostle of God, heaven never gave shade to and earth never bore a man more upright than Abû Dharr.

Abû Dharr tarried a few days in Medina until 'Uthmân commanded him to leave the city. Abû Dharr then asked him, whether he would drive him from the house of the apostle of God. 'Uthman replied that

he would. So Abû Dharr retorted, that he would go to Kûfah ('Alî's residence). But 'Uthmân rejected that, telling him to go back to al-Rabadhah, where he came from, and to stay there till he died.

Then he commanded his cousin Marwân to lead him away and to let no one converse with him until he was outside. So he led him away on a camel, his wife and daughter being with him. 'Alî, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, 'Abdullah b. Ja'far and 'Ammâr b. Yâsir went out with him. On catching sight of 'Alî, Abû Dharr went up to him, kissed his hand and wept, saying, that on seeing him and his son, he had thought of the saying of the prophet and could not help weeping. While 'Alî continued to speak to him, Marwân told him, that the Commander of the Faithful had forbidden that anyone should speak to Abû Dharr. At this 'Alî, raising his whip, struck Marwân's camel in the face, saying: Remove thyself! May God remove thee into the fire! Then he escorted him, carrying on a conversation too long to recount. All the members of the party conversed, then went their several ways. Then Marwân went to 'Uthmân, and relations between 'Uthmân and 'Alî became strained in that matter and they abused one another (al-Mas'ûdî enlarges on this).

As for Abû Dharr, he remained in al-Rabadhah until he died.

al-Mas'ûdî, X, A.D. 956—Murûj al-dhahab, IV, 268

At an assembly that Abû Dharr attended 'Uthmân posed the question whether the payer of the poor-rate had any further responsibilities with regard to the rest of his possessions. Ka'b al-aḥbâr then expressed the opinion that the tithepayer had no such obligations. Thereupon Abû Dharr struck him in the stomach, calling him a liar and the son of a Jew. Then he recited Koran, II, 172: There is no piety in turning your faces toward the east or the west, but he is pious who believeth in God, and the last day, and the angels, and the scriptures, and the prophets; who for the love of God disburseth his wealth to his kindred and to the orphans, and to the needy, and the wayfarer, and those who ask, and for ransoming; who observeth prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and who is of those who are faithful to their engagements when they have engaged in them, and patient under ills and hardships, and in time of trouble; these are they who are just, and these are they who fear the Lord. 'Uthmân rejoined by asking whether it be wrong for him to take money/mâl from the Muslims to give it (as pay?) to his civil servants. Ka'b al-aḥbâr was of the opinion that there was nothing blameworthy in that. Abû Dharr reacted by striking him on the breast with a staff,

calling him the son of a negress and asking him who had given him the right to interfere in their religion. Then 'Uthmân told Abû Dharr that he had deeply offended him and commanded him to get out of his sight. So he went to Syria. (al-Ṭabarî places this event in al-Rabadhah (I, 2861).

Soon afterwards the caliph received from Mu'âwiyah a letter to the effect that the masses were congregating about Abû Dharr and that he feared that he was stirring these up against the caliph, who, if he set any store by the people (of Syria) should lose no time in recalling Abû Dharr. Accordingly 'Uthmân wrote to Mu'âwiyah commanding him to bind him to a wooden saddle on the back of a camel that five Slavs were to harry all the way to Medina. When one saw him arrive half-dead with the inner part of his thighs excoriated, one said to him that he would die of that (which he had suffered en route). But he said that he would not die until he had been banished. He told (the people in) the mosque/jawâmi' what was to befall him afterwards and spoke of those who would take on themselves his burial.

'Uthmân kept him for some days in his palace and treated him well before he sent for him. Abû Dharr entered crawling on his knees and spoke of various matters, mentioning the report concerning the descendants of Abû 'l-Âṣ, the thirty people that had reduced the servants of God to slavery. This story he related at great length and with much verbiage.

Now on that day there came to 'Uthmân the estate that 'Abdurrahmân had left at his demise. Sacks each containing ten thousand dirhams separated the caliph from his interlocutor. May God reward 'Abdurrahmân said 'Uthmân—he was benevolent and hospitable and hath nevertheless left the fortune that ye see here. Ka'b al-aḥbâr hastened to approve that which the caliph had said. Thereupon Abû Dharr, forgetting his pains, brandished his staff and struck Ka'b on the head saying to him: Son of a Jew, sayest thou of a man that hath this fortune that God hath given him the goods of this world and of the life to come? Thou speakest thereby against God. For my part I heard the apostle of God say that it would cause him no pleasure to die leaving (gold) weighing no more than a carat. 'Uthmân said to Abû Dharr: Hide thy countenance from me. So he said: I depart for Mecca. The caliph replied: No, by God! Abû Dharr said: Dost thou withhold me from the house of my Lord wherein I shall serve (Him) till I die? He answered: Yes, by God. So he said: To Syria, then? The caliph replied: No, by God. Choose regions other than these. Abû Dharr

replied: No, by God! I shall not choose regions other than those that I have mentioned. If thou hadst left me in the land of my emigration (Syria) thou wouldst not desire anything of the provinces. So send me whithersoever thou wilt. So the caliph said: Behold, I send thee to al-Rabadhah. Abû Dharr said: Allâh akbar! The apostle of God spake the truth. He hath already told me all that which will befall me. So 'Uthmân asked him what he had told him. Abû Dharr replied: He told me that I should be withheld from Mecca and Medina and that I shall die in al-Rabadhah where a party of travellers from Iraq to the Hejaz will arrange for my burial.

Then Abû Dharr sent for a camel belonging to him and set his wife (some say his daughter) and 'Uthmân commanded that the people keep away from him until he should be sent to al-Rabadhah. Now while he was departing from Medina, Marwân leading him from it, 'Alî b. abî Tâlib with whom were his two sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, his brother 'Uḡayl and 'Abdullah b. Ja'far and 'Ammâr b. Yâsir stood in the way of Marwân. So the latter said: O 'Alî, the commander of the Faithful hath forbidden the people to accompany Abû Dharr and escort him. If thou knewest that not—then I have now told thee. So 'Alî attacked him with his whip and struck Marwân's camel between the ears saying: Withdraw! May God cast thee into the fire (of Hell). Then he went along with Abû Dharr escorting him (some distance) before he left him. As 'Alî was about to depart Abû Dharr said, as he wept: May God have mercy on you, the household (of Mohammed). When I saw thee, father of al-Ḥasan and thy son I remembered through you the apostle of God.

Marwân complained to 'Uthmân of that which 'Alî had done. So 'Uthmân asked the congregation of Muslims whether any of them had excuses to proffer for 'Alî who had turned his emissary aside from that to which he had sent him, adding that he hoped that God would give him his due. When 'Alî returned the people met him and told him that the caliph was angry with him because of his escorting Abû Dharr. 'Alî replied that it was the chafing of the horses at their bridles and departed. In the evening he went to 'Uthmân who asked him what had led him to that which he had done to Marwân and why he had thus acted audaciously against him and rejected both his messenger and his command. 'Alî replied that Marwân had encountered him with evil and that he had repulsed him with evil but that he had not rejected the caliph's command. 'Uthmân asked him if (the news) had not reached him that he had already commanded the people (to stay away) from Abû Dharr and that they should not escort him. 'Alî replied that when

the caliph's command stood against the obedience due to God and against justice his command did not induce him to obey, and that, by the living God, he would not obey. 'Uthman then told 'Alī to let Marwān avenge himself. So 'Alī asked him why he should let him avenge himself. So 'Uthmān told him that he had struck his camel between the ears and reviled him and that he accordingly would strike his camel between the ears and revile him. 'Alī replied that his camel was standing there and that if he should wish to strike it as he had struck his he was free to do so, but that if Marwān were to revile him, he ('Alī) would revile the caliph similarly. He added that he would not lie, but that he would say nothing but the truth. So the caliph asked 'Alī why Marwān should not revile him seeing that he had reviled Marwān. The caliph added, swearing by God that in his eyes 'Alī was no more honourable than Marwān. At this 'Alī grew angry and objected to the caliph's addressing him thus and making him equal with Marwān and added that he ('Alī) was more excellent than the caliph, that his father had been more excellent than the caliph's and his mother more excellent than his. He then threw his javelin to the caliph challenging him to throw his to him. At this 'Uthmān grew red with rage, arose and withdrew.

'Alī departed and those of his household gathered about him as he did so, as also some of the Emigrants/muhājirūn and the Helpers/anṣār. The following day when the people had congregated 'Uthmān complained to them of 'Alī, saying that he had deceived him and that he showed favour to those who had deceived him thus referring to Abū Dharr and 'Ammār b. Yāsir. The people intervened between the caliph and 'Alī. 'Alī said, swearing by God, that in his escorting Abū Dharr he had had nothing in mind but God.

al-Shushtari, X, A.D. 1610—Majālis al-mu'minīn, folio 44

During the caliphate of 'Umar (A.D. 634–644) Abū Dharr went to Damascus on the spreading of the war and stayed there until the caliphate of 'Uthmān (A.D. 644–656) (when he may have returned to Medina (cf. al-Ya'qūbī, II, 198).

Because Mu'āwiyah b. abī Sufyān, the governor of this province under 'Uthmān, had a proclivity or mania for the luxury of this base world and for the erection of lofty edifices Abū Dharr raised his voice and rebuked him telling him that his deeds and works did not conform to the usages of the prophet.

It has been handed down that one day Mu'āwiyah at a special

assembly interpreted 'bayt Allâh' as 'bayt al-mâl'. Thereupon Abû Dharr said to him: Thou speakest thus of the treasury of Allâh/bayt mâl Allâh but thou wilt have to call it the treasury of the Muslims/bayt mâl al-muslimîn on the day when thy account shall come before God and thou wilt have to lay this office down in this base world. It is thy design to control the treasury/bayt al-mâl. On hearing these words Mu'âwiyah sent a despatch to 'Uthman with the following content: If thou desirest the province of Syria then send Abû Dharr to some other province for he intendeth to produce in this country such disorder as man hath not known hitherto. Besides this he declareth me to be an evildoer. 'Uthmân then sent a letter concerning Abû Dharr to Damascus as a result of which Abû Dharr went willy nilly to Medina where he met 'Uthmân.

In Medina he opposed trespasses in word and deed. Wherever he saw him he recited with a loud voice Surah IX, 34–35 (Rodwell, p. 474, 16f.), which passage threatens with hell fire those that hoard gold and silver instead of laying it out on God's work, implying that 'Uthmân would be among those that would thus suffer the flames of hell.

Tradition has it that one day Abû Dharr by way of provocation said to 'Uthmân that the payer of the farîdah/(an obligatory rate on one's substance) ought not to reduce his bounty toward his kith and kin, alluding to 'Uthmân with the word: rate-payer (rate here meaning farîdah).¹ On hearing this, Ka'b al-aḥbâr, who happened to be near 'Uthmân, expressed the opinion that once one had paid the ordained quota/farîdah, one's responsibility toward God ceased. Thereupon Abû Dharr called him the son of a Jewess and asked him what he meant by speaking in his presence, exclaiming: "By God! (the character of) the Jewess hath not left thee!" At the same time he struck Ka'b with the staff that he was holding in his hand so hard on the head that he split it open. In short, 'Uthmân did not execute the commandment to do good, nor the prohibition to do evil. He commanded the banishment of Abû Dharr and his family out of Medina to al-Rabadhah the worst spot in the region (sic!). As though that were not enough, he forbade him to utter a fatwâ to the Muslims, notwithstanding that the prophet had said in his praise, that there was no one more upright than Abû Dharr. Over and above this he commanded at the time of Abû Dharr's removal to al-Rabadhah that no one should accompany him. But in spite of this 'Alî and 'Ammâr b. Yâsir accompanied him.

¹ cf. al-Ṭabarî, iv, 2861, 4f. and for a treatise on farîdah turn to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

On the occasion of Abû Dharr's being evicted from Medina 'Uthmân commanded that no one should accompany him. Nevertheless 'Alî and 'Ammâr b. Yâsir escorted him. Now Marwân b. al-Ḥakam stood in their way and asked them why they were contravening the caliph's command. Thus an altercation arose between 'Alî and Marwân during which 'Alî struck Marwân's camel between the ears with his whip. Marwân went and complained of this to the caliph. When 'Alî met the caliph the same told him that Marwân had a complaint against him, namely that he had struck his camel between the ears with his whip. 'Alî replied that his camel was standing at the gate of the caliph's palace and that he should command Marwân to go out and strike his camel between the ears with his whip.

Concerning the circumstances of Abû Dharr and his family in al-Rabadhah it has been related that at the time of his death they had no cloth that might serve as a shroud except a garment and a sheet. Thus that was fulfilled which the apostle of God had uttered concerning him, namely that a party would arrive from nowhere/az ghayb and enshroud him.

Aḥmad b. 'Atham al-Kûfî—Majâlis al-mu'minîn

When Abû Dharr heard in Syria of 'Uthmân's anger toward 'Ammâr b. Yâsir he reviled 'Uthmân. So Mu'âwiyah reported to 'Uthmân that which Abû Dharr had said about him, adding that he had once more incited the Syrians and turned the hearts of the people from friendship towards him and that whenever Abû Bakr and 'Umar were mentioned he sang the praises of their virtues but that whenever the Commander of the Faithful ('Uthmân) was mentioned he uttered coarse words about him and put his words and deeds in a bad light, and that consequently his remaining in Syria, Egypt or Iraq would not be conducive to welfare because the people of those countries were rebellious and easily led to disturbances and loved mischief and revolt and were no lovers of (law and) order. Mu'âwiyah closed by saying that that which had happened had become (generally) known and that blessing and rectitude would be added to whatsoever the Commander of the Faithful might command.

When Mu'âwiyah's letter had reached 'Uthmân and he had become acquainted with its contents he commanded the writing of a letter in these terms: Thy letter has arrived. That which thou hast written about Abû Dharr has become known. When this letter reaches thee send him (Abû Dharr) straightway on an uncomfortable mount and send a stern

guide with him who shall harry the mount day and night so that sleep may overcome him that he may forget all mention of you and me.

When 'Uthmân's letter reached Mu'âwiyah he called Abû Dharr and set him on the hump of a camel with an uncomfortable gait without a saddle cloth and sent a cruel, severe man with him and commanded that he should rigorously harry the camel day and night and not allow Abû Dharr anywhere to alight and flee until he had conducted him to Medina.

Now Abû Dharr was an old man. His great age had left its marks. The hair of his head and his beard were white. He was weak and of fragile build. The guide harried the camel with rigour. Now the camel had neither saddle nor saddle cloth on its back—the extreme of severity and discomfort was reached. So that as the camel progressed Abû Dharr's thighs were excoriated and the flesh hung down. He sustained bruises and fell ill.

When he arrived at Medina and went into 'Uthmân's presence the same regarded him then exclaimed: No eye could recognise thee, O Jundar. To this Abû Dharr retorted: My father Junâdah gave me the name Jundub (grasshopper) and the apostle of God called me 'Abdullah. Then 'Uthmân said: Thou dost declare and state on the authority of the apostle of God that God is rich and we are poor.¹ Abû Dharr replied that these words had never passed his lips but that the prophet had said that when the descendants of Abû 'l-Âṣ should number thirty they would make māl Allāh a means for their own prosperity and fortune and enslave God's servants, and misuse māl Allāh to settle private debts/dayn, and that God would later deliver his servants from them. 'Uthmân then asked all those present at the assembly whether they had ever heard Mohammed utter those words. They all answered that they had not heard them. Then 'Uthmân told Abû Dharr that he was telling lies on the authority of the apostle of God. Abû Dharr then asked those present at the assembly whether they were of the opinion that he uttered these words mendaciously. They replied that they did not know whether he had fabricated the tradition. 'Uthmân then asked 'Alī whether he had ever heard this tradition from Mohammed. 'Alī replied that he had heard in a tradition from Mohammed concerning Abû Dharr that heaven had never given shade to nor earth borne one more truthful than Abû Dharr. Those present then said: One thing is certain and that is that Abû Dharr is truthful. Abû Dharr said that he had heard the report concerning the descendants of Abû 'l-Âṣ from the apostle of

¹ cf. *Koran*, III, 177. Rodwell, p. 403.

God himself and that he would never have believed that he would live to see the day to hear such things said about him, as he had just heard. 'Uthmân continued: Thou utterest falsehood and seekest unrest in our midst. Abû Dharr retorted: The path of thy feet is not the sîra and the sunna of Abû Bakr and 'Umar. No one practises that which is forbidden more than thou dost. But no one lifteth a finger against that which thou doest and sayest: 'Uthmân asked him what he meant by that, so he answered that he was aware of no failing in himself except that of enjoining what is good and forbidding that which is evil (cf. Koran, IX, 68). 'Uthmân's anger increased as he said: Tell me, what shall I do unto this son of a liar that causeth unrest and strife among the Muslims? 'Alî then said: that if Abû Dharr were lying in this tradition they should let the lie be their own/agar û dar în riwâyah kâdhib ast kadhib-i-mâ khudh shawad. But if he were speaking the truth then the proof of that which he said would of itself be made manifest/agar şâdiq ast athar-i-ân chih riwâyat mîkunad Khudh zâhir shawad. These words of 'Alî did not please 'Uthmân. 'Alî continued: What kind of injustice is this that thou doest toward Abû Dharr the friend of the apostle of God by reason of a letter from Mu'âwiyah that he hath written concerning him. Thou art acquainted with the violence, wickedness, intrigue and perversity of Mu'âwiyah. 'Uthmân ceased to speak and addressed no further word to 'Alî. Then turning his face towards Abû Dharr he commanded him to arise and leave the city. Abû Dharr retorted that he would do so (gladly) for it would be very disagreeable for him to dwell near him, and he asked 'Uthmân to command him to go to Syria. 'Uthmân replied that he had already had him brought from Syria because he had been uttering abuse there, and that he had corrupted this region against him and that he would not give the permission. So Abû Dharr said that he would betake himself to Iraq. 'Uthmân replied that he would not permit this. Abû Dharr answered that wherever he might be he would speak the truth, adding that he would go whithersoever the caliph might send him. So 'Uthmân asked him which place he held to be the worst. Abû Dharr replied that he considered no place to be worse than al-Rabadhah. So 'Uthmân told him to arise, go thither, stay there and to go to no other place. Then he commanded Marwân to set Abû Dharr on a camel and to take him away from Medina. At this all the companions of the apostle of God were much grieved and they came forth to accompany him. 'Alî b. abî Tâlib, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn the sons of 'Alî, 'Abdullah b. 'Abbâs, 'Ammâr b. Yâsir and Miqdâd b. al-Aswad came and consoled him and encouraged him to endure

khudh
(k minuscule)

hardness. Thereupon Marwân b. al-Ḥakam said: Hath not the commander of the faithful commanded that no man should come forth to accompany Abû Dharr? These words did not please 'Alî. He raised the whip that he was holding in his hand and struck Marwân's camel between the ears, saying: Depart thou son of guile. Who is like unto thee, that he could raise his hand against that which we now do. In short, Abû Dharr went to al-Rabadhah. 'Alî returned with the same company. Marwân went and told 'Uthmân what had happened and complained of 'Alî. 'Uthmân sent someone to fetch 'Alî and said (to him): Commanded we thee not that no man from among you should escort Abû Dharr? Why wentest thou forth leading a company with thee? 'Alî replied that not all that which the caliph commanded was obligatory. 'Uthmân continued, saying that Marwân had a complaint against him, namely that he had reviled him and struck his camel between the ears, and that he should beg his pardon and give him satisfaction. 'Alî retorted that his camel was standing there and that 'Uthmân should command Marwân to arise and strike it between the ears with his whip, adding that he might not utter any invective and that if Marwân should revile him, he ('Alî) would answer him with his sword. Then he arose and angrily left 'Uthmân. . . .

Abû Dharr dwelt in wretched circumstances/*ṣârid wârid* in al-Rabadhah. Pilgrims visited him, showed him kindness and brought him gifts but he accepted none of them, until death reached him in that place. The separation, the adversities and toil that he there suffered under the malice of 'Uthmân are written in *Kitâb al-istî'âb* and elsewhere.

Abû Dharr versus Ka'b al-aḥbâr

We now examine the accounts concerning an alleged quarrel between Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî and Ka'b al-aḥbâr contained in the foregoing materials.

The accounts vary concerning the point in time and the cause of the alleged quarrel. One meets with the usual factious bias of the partisans of 'Alî against 'Uthmân and Sayf b. 'Umar's characteristic endeavour to put the latter in a good light. We deal with his account first.

al-Ṭabarî, X, A.D. 923,

stands confessedly on the side of those that excuse Mu'âwiyah, while his source, Sayf b. 'Umar supports the caliph and his ilk. After Abû Dharr had split the aged Ka'b's pate with a staff in a quarrel over the quota/*farîḍah* during a visit from al-Rabadhah to Medina at the

invitation of the caliph, the same is put in a favourable light, being made to ask Abû Dharr for the staff and gently to admonish him to fear God and control his hand and tongue. No punishment follows.

Ibn al-Athîr, X, A.D. 1262, reproduces this.

al-Balâdhurî, X, A.D. 892,

although a confidant of the strict orthodox caliph al-Mutawakkil, betrays his pro-'Alid sympathies by making Abû Dharr quarrel with Ka'b al-aḥbâr as a supporter of 'Uthmân in the matter of his application of public funds, and criticise Mu'âwiyah after the caliph had sent him from Medina to his station, Syria.

al-Mas'ûdi, X, A.D. 956,

being a fanatical admirer of 'Alî and ipso facto a detractor of 'Uthmân makes Abû Dharr quarrel with Ka'b al-aḥbâr concerning the caliph's use of public funds, and that in Medina before he went to Damascus, and again in Medina on his return from Damascus before he was sent to al-Rabadhah, and that concerning the size of the estate left behind on his demise by 'Abdurrahmân b. 'Awf.

al-Iṣbahânî, X, A.D. 1038, reproduces the account of the quarrel over the estate of 'Abdurrahmân b. 'Awf.

al-Shushtarî, martyred A.D. 1610,

being a Sunnî with a marked proclivity to the faction of 'Alî, makes Abû Dharr break Ka'b's pate with a staff on the latter's supporting 'Uthmân in the matter of the payment of the poor-rate/zakât. 'Uthmân is made to banish Abû Dharr and his family from Medina to the worst spot in the region, al-Rabadhah and to forbid him to pronounce a fatwâ.

al-Âlûsî, X, A.D. 1853,

surprisingly makes Ka'b al-aḥbâr attack Abû Dharr concerning the latter's interpretation of Koran, IX, 34-35 in Medina before his withdrawal to al-Rabadhah from the bitter critics of his preaching. With reference to Abû Dharr's violence, al-Âlûsî repeats a saying put into the mouth of Mohammed, that Abû Dharr's Bedouin character never left him (cf. I.S., IVi, 165, 28). Observation: Ka'b al-aḥbâr, sometimes called al-ḥabr, a Yemenite rabbi, was converted to Islam at a great age during the caliphate of 'Umar, whose favour he enjoyed, as also that of his successor 'Uthmân and his kinsman Mu'âwiyah, being their teacher in Jewish lore, in which he instructed also Ibn 'Abbâs, a cousin of Mohammed's. This being so, the abuse that the partisans of 'Alî poured upon 'Uthmân, fell upon him also.

The faction of 'Alī makes Ka'b al-aḥbār support the financial policy of 'Uthmān, which Abū Dharr is made to attack so violently that he allegedly assaulted the aged rabbi in 'Uthmān's presence in Medina. But this is questionable, because, towards the end of his life, he died A.H. 32, Ka'b al-aḥbār, as also others at Medina, foreseeing the emergence of the plot against 'Uthmān, and not wishing to be drawn into the intrigues, left Medina. He himself went to and settled in Syria (I.S., V, 156), where he enjoyed the patronage of Mu'āwiyah, under whom, together with Abū Dharr, he served at Cyprus, A.H. 28. Accordingly one would expect any confrontation between these two Calebs to have taken place in Damascus, not in Medina, if indeed any confrontation ever took place at all. At all events Abū Dharr's preaching from Koran, IX, 34–35 was addressed to all those who amassed wealth instead of laying it out for God's sake—and not to any particular person or group—this is borne out by S. M. Yūsuf in his article: *The Revolt Against 'Uthmān in Islamic Culture*, vol. xxvii, 1953, pp. 1–7, in which he says: "Of course, Abū Dharr did not name any particular tribe or family as the target of his attack. Rather he gave his protest the form of a highly stretched and cruelly literal interpretation of a Quranic verse." He means Koran, IX, 34–35.

An Analysis

Abū Dharr goes from Medina to Damascus

Ibn Sa'd (X, A.D. 845) IVi, 166, 21f.:

Abū Dharr went to Syria.

al-Balādhurī (X, A.D. 892) V, 26, 26–28; 52, 6:

Abū Dharr went of his own free will from Medina to Damascus after he had annoyed 'Uthmān by preaching from Koran, IX, 34–35 because the caliph had given his cousin, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, one fifth of the spoils taken in N. Africa, A.H. 27—the portion due to the Deity, for 'a fifth of what ye have won belongs to Allāh', Koran, VIII, 41, and by reviling Ka'b al-aḥbār in a quarrel over the poor-rate.

al-Ya'qūbī (X, A.D. 897) Houtsma, II, 198f.:

'Uthman sent Abū Dharr from Medina to Mu'āwiyah in Damascus because he had been spreading propaganda in favour of 'Alī and attacking the caliph's alteration of the usages of Mohammed and Abū Bakr.

al-Mas'ūdi (X, A.D. 956) IV, p. 268f.:

Abū Dharr went of his own free will to Damascus after he had

annoyed 'Uthmân by striking and reviling Ka'b al-aḥbâr in a quarrel over the poor rate.

al-Shushtarî (X, A.D. 1610) folio 44:

During the caliphate of 'Umar (A.H. 13–23) Abû Dharr went to Damascus on the spreading of the war (Damascus surrendered A.H. 14) and stayed there until the caliphate of 'Uthmân (A.H. 23–35).

What Abû Dharr did in Damascus

Ibn Sa'd (X, A.D. 845) IVi, 166, 21f.:

Abû Dharr incited the people to riots.

IVi, 166, 13f.:

Abû Dharr disagreed with Mu'âwiyah concerning Koran, IX, 34.

al-Balâdhurî (X, A.D. 892) V, 52f.:

Abu Dharr criticised some of Mu'âwiyah's deeds and refused his gifts of money. He further criticised Mu'âwiyah for building the palace called al-khaḍrâ'/the green one and ranted at the secularism that he there encountered.

al-Ya'qûbî (X, A.D. 897) Houtsma, II, 198f.:

Abû Dharr continued to spread propaganda in favour of 'Alî and to attack 'Uthmân's changing the usages of Mohammed and Abû Bakr.

al-Ṭabarî (X, A.D. 923) I, v, 2858ff.:

Abû Dharr disagreed with Mu'âwiyah's calling the property of the people the property of the state and incited the rich against the poor by reciting Koran, IX, 34–35.

al-Mas'ûdî (X, A.D. 956) IV, 268f.:

The masses so swarmed about Abû Dharr that Mu'âwiyah feared that he was inciting them against 'Uthmân.

al-Shushtarî (X, A.D. 1610) folio 44:

Abû Dharr rebuked Mu'âwiyah because he did not observe the usages of Mohammed and because he called the property of the people the property of the state.

When Abû Dharr heard in Syria of 'Uthmân's anger toward 'Ammâr b. Yâsir he reviled the caliph.

Correspondence between Mu'āwiyah and 'Uthmān.

The correspondence between Mu'āwiyah and 'Uthmān evinces the usual tendencies. Ibn Sa'd says as little as possible on the matter. Sayf b. 'Umar, speaking through al-Ṭabarī, who avowedly stands on the side of those who excuse Mu'āwiyah, puts both the caliph 'Uthmān and his lieutenant Mu'āwiyah in a good light, while al-Ya'qūbī, al-Mas'ūdī and al-Shushtarī as extreme shī'ites go all out to besmirch 'Uthmān and Mu'āwiyah.

Ibn Sa'd (X, A.D. 845) IVi, p. 166, 26:

Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Uthmān: Abū Dharr has instigated the population of Damascus to riots.

al-Ya'qūbī (X, A.D. 897) Houtsma, II, p. 198 ff.:

Abū Dharr has instigated the population of Damascus to riots.

al-Ṭabarī (X, A.D. 923) Iv, p. 2858:

Abū Dharr has made things difficult for me by doing thus and thus.

al-Mas'ūdī (X, A.D. 956) IV, p. 268:

A multitude of supporters swarms about Abū Dharr. I fear that he will instigate them against your authority. If you set store by these subjects then hasten to recall this man.

al-Ḳastallānī (X, A.D. 1448) III, p. 10:

Fearing an outbreak of opposition and riots among the people Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Uthmān, complaining (of Abū Dharr).

al-Shushtarī (X, A.D. 1610) folio 44, gives two versions:

(1) If you need the province of Syria then send Abū Dharr to some other province for he intends that the dissolution (of law and order) in this kingdom be without parallel. Furthermore he puts it about that I am vicious.

(2) Abū Dharr has corrupted Damascus afresh and turned the hearts of the people from friendship towards you. Whenever you, the commander of the faithful, are mentioned, he begins to utter invective and puts your words and deeds in a bad light. His sojourning in Syria, Egypt or Iraq (the fermenting provinces!) is not conducive to welfare, for the people of these countries are easily moved to insurrection, love mischief and riots and are no lovers of law and order.

al-Balādhurī (X, A.D. 892) V, p. 53, 10,

simply mentions that Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Uthmān about Abū Dharr.

Zotenberg, III, p. 567f.:

Mu'āwiyah having had a quarrel with Abû Dharr addressed a letter to 'Uthmân and complained about Abû Dharr, demanding the authority to put him to death.

'Uthmân's Reply to Mu'āwiyah

Ibn Sa'd (X, A.D. 845) IVi, p. 166, 27:

'Uthmân sent (a message) to him (Abû Dharr). So he went to him.

al-Ya'qûbî (X, A.D. 897) Houtsma, II, p. 200:

Set Abû Dharr on a packsaddle without a cover.

al-Ṭabarî (X, A.D. 923) liii, 2858f.:

Fit Abû Dharr out (for the journey) and send him with a guide to me. Give him victuals. Treat him gently.

al-Mas'ûdî (X, A.D. 956) IV, p. 268f.:

Bind him (Abû Dharr) on a wooden saddle on the back of a camel that five Slavs (the word can mean also: Spaniards) are to harry before them to Medina.

al-Shushtarî (X, A.D. 1610) folio 44,

gives besides a short account that 'Uthmân sent a letter about Abû Dharr to Damascus whereupon the latter went willy nilly to 'Uthmân in Medina, a quotation from 'Uthmân's letter that runs thus: Your letter has arrived. What you have written about Abû Dharr has become known. As soon as this letter reaches you, send Abû Dharr immediately on an uncomfortable mount and send a harsh guide with him, who is to drive Abû Dharr's mount day and night, so that sleep may overpower him.

Zotenberg, III, p. 567f.:

I believe that you are one of those who engender revolt in the people. You have no right thus to rage against Abû Dharr. If you cannot live with him, give him a camel and provisions, so that he may come to Medina.

Abû Dharr's Journey from Damascus to Medina

Zotenberg, III, p. 567f.:

Abû Dharr refused Mu'āwiyah's camel and marched to Medina.

Ibn Sa'd (X, A.D. 845) IVi, p. 166, 27–28:

While Abû Dharr was on his way from Damascus to Medina, Mu'âwiyah sent his people after him in order to ascertain how much money he had in his possession. On examining him they found nothing but a small bag of copper coins. cf. al-Ṭabarī, IV, p. 2861 where this event is surprisingly placed on the road to al-Rabadhah.

al-Ya'qûbî (X, A.D. 897) Houtsma II, p. 200:

Mu'âwiyah at 'Uthmân's behest set Abû Dharr on a packsaddle without a cover and sent him to Medina, where on his arrival the flesh of his thighs was excoriated.

al-Ṭabarī (X, A.D. 923) liii, p. 2858f.:

Mu'âwiyah sent Abû Dharr at 'Uthmân's behest with a guide to Medina.

al-Mas'ûdî (X, A.D. 956) IV, p. 268f.:

Mu'âwiyah sent Abû Dharr away at 'Uthmân's behest, having had him bound on a hard wooden saddle on the back of a camel that five Slavs harried to Medina, where, the people seeing him arrive with excoriated thighs, believed that he would succumb to the hardships of the journey.

al-Shushtarî (X, A.D. 1610) folio 44:

When 'Uthmân's letter reached Mu'âwiyah he called Abû Dharr, set him without a saddlecloth on the humps of a camel with an awkward gait and sent a cruel, harsh man with him, whom he commanded to harry the camel with severity day and night and not to allow Abû Dharr to dismount and flee at any point on the way. Now Abû Dharr was an aged man. His great age had left its traces. The hair of his head and his beard were white. He was weak and lean. The guide drove his camel, which had neither saddle nor saddlecloth on its back. The limit of severity was reached. As the camel progressed Abû Dharr's thighs became so excoriated that the flesh hung down. He sustained bruises and fell ill. On his arrival in Medina, where he went into the presence of 'Uthmân the latter looked at him and said to him: "No eye could discern, whether it be you, O Jundar".

Although one must take this account cum grano salis, one must concede that the journey from Damascus through the whole length of Syria-Palestine to the Hejaz under circumstances that were at least urgent would excoriate anyone's thighs. It may be easier to understand that, reportedly, al-Aḥnaf b. Qays did not recognise Abû Dharr in Medina on his return from Damascus, although he had spoken to him in

Medina on his return from Damascus although he had spoken to him in Damascus at the time that Mu'āwiyah had issued a decree that no one was to speak to Abū Dharr¹ because of his ranting² in that city. Thus one may say that the limit of severity had indeed been reached during this journey, if this forced march ever took place.

Abū Dharr's Conflict in Medina

We give the anti-Umayyad sources first:

al-Ya'qūbi (X, A.D. 897) Houtsma II, p. 198

Abū Dharr returned from Damascus to Medina. There 'Uthmān told him that he had heard that Abū Dharr declared that when the Umayyads should number thirty they would seize the land of Allah as their dominion/dawl; the people as slaves/khawl and the taxes due to the government/dayn Allah as their income/dakhl.³ Abū Dharr maintained that he had heard this from the apostle of God. 'Uthmān asked 'Alī to confirm this—which he did, adding that the apostle of God had said: "Heaven never gave shade to and earth never bore one more upright than Abū Dharr". A few days after this 'Uthmān commanded Abū Dharr to leave Medina. So he proposed to go to Mecca, Kufah or Baṣrah. This 'Uthmān refused, telling him to go al-Rabadhah, where he came from.

al-Mas'ūdī (X, A.D. 956) IV, p. 268ff.

Abū Dharr returned from Damascus to Medina. There he spoke to 'Uthmān of the thirty people ('Uthmān and his relatives) who had enslaved the people.

Abū Dharr quarrelled with Ka'b al-aḥbār in the presence of 'Uthmān over the estate left by 'Abdurrahmān b. 'Awf. Thereupon 'Uthmān commanded Abū Dharr to leave Medina. So he proposed to go to Mecca or Damascus. This the caliph refused, stipulating al-Rabadhah. 'Alī and his two sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn escorted Abū Dharr and his wife (others say: his daughter) on his departure.

al-Shushtarī (X, A.D. 1610) folio 44

Abū Dharr returned from Damascus to Medina. There 'Uthmān said to him: "We have heard that thou dost declare God to be poor and us

¹ Bu, I, p. 356; AbH, V, p. 164, 6.

² I.S., IV, p. 168, 19f.

³ The text of al-Ya'qūbī has "daghl", but we read "dakhl" with al-Kashshī. Ma'rifat akhbār ar-rijāl, p. 16.

to be rich" (Koran, III, 177). Abû Dharr denied this but maintained that he had heard these words from the apostle of God: "When the sons of Abû 'l-Âş (the grandfather of 'Uthmân and of his cousin al-Marwân b. al-Ḥakam) number thirty they will turn the revenue of the government/mâl Allâh into a means for their own pleasure and make it their own; enslave the people and commit crimes in connection with obligations/dayn (the text being unpointed what is read as dayn could be read as dîn/religion, but compare dayn Allah in the passage from al-Ya'qûbî on the previous page), but God will free the people from them". 'Uthmân asked 'Alî if he had heard that. 'Alî answered that he had heard these words from the apostle of God: "Heaven never gave shade to and earth never bore one more upright than Abû Dharr." 'Uthmân then called Abû Dharr a liar and a breaker of the peace and commanded him to leave Medina. So he proposed to go to Damascus or Iraq. This 'Uthmân refused. On Abû Dharr's rejoinder: "Then send me wherever thou wilt" 'Uthmân stipulated al-Rabadhah 'the worst spot'. 'Alî and his two sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn escorted Abû Dharr on the way to al-Rabadhah in spite of 'Uthmân's prohibition.

al-Shushtarî (X, A.D. 1610) folio 44, second account:

Abû Dharr returned from Damascus to Medina. There he recited Koran, IX, 34–35 wherever he saw 'Uthmân and at an assembly alluded to the caliph by the same passage. Concerning the same passage he quarrelled with Ka'b al-aḥbâr and struck him. 'Uthmân commanded Abû Dharr to be banished together with his family to al-Rabadhah, the worst spot in that region and forbade him to pronounce a fatwâ although the apostle of God had said: "There is no one more upright than Abû Dharr". 'Alî escorted Abû Dharr on the way to al-Rabadhah in spite of 'Uthman's prohibition.

We turn now to al-Balâdhuri (X, A.D. 892), the confidant of the strict orthodox caliph al-Mutawakkil, who as such had no brief for 'Alî, who is so prominent in the foregoing passages from al-Ya'qûbî, al-Mas'ûdî and al-Shushtarî: Abû Dharr spoke of something that 'Uthmân disliked, so he called him a liar. Abû Dharr then said that he was not of the opinion that anyone would call him a liar after the utterance of the apostle of God, namely: "Earth hath not borne nor heaven given shade to one more upright than Abû Dharr." 'Uthmân sent Abû Dharr to al-Rabadhah. Abû Dharr said: "Telling the truth has not left me a single friend." When Abû Dharr went to al-Rabadhah he said: "'Uthmân has sent me back as a Bedouin after the hijrah".

al-Balâdhurî (X, A.D. 892) V, p. 53, 10, second account:

Abû Dharr returned from Damascus to Medina. There he declaimed: Boys become governors and thou dost protect the interdicted and makest kinship with the *ṭulakâ'*/those Meccans who remained heathen until the surrender of Mecca. So 'Uthmân sent (someone) to him, saying: "Go to whatsoever country thou wilt". So he proposed to go to Mecca, Jerusalem or Egypt, which 'Uthmân refused, saying: "No, for I send thee to al-Rabadhah". 'Uthmân sent him thither, i.e. to al-Rabadhah, where he stayed until his death.

Synopsis of the Foregoing

Abû Dharr returned from Damascus to Medina. There he spoke to 'Uthmân of the thirty descendants of Abû 'l-Âṣ, who would include 'Uthmân, who according to an utterance ascribed to Mohammed would seize public revenue, enslave the people and seize the exchequer. Asked by 'Uthmân to confirm this 'Alî said, according to al-Ya'kûbî: Yes, but according to Muhammad al-Karmî: No. In both of these accounts, however, and also in that of al-Shushtarî 'Alî quoted the words imputed to Mohammed, namely: "Heaven hath not given shade to nor earth borne one more upright than Abû Dharr".

Abû Dharr quarrelled with Ka'b al-aḥḥâr in the presence of 'Uthmân concerning (a) the estate left by 'Abdurrahmân b. 'Awf; (b) the interpretation of Koran, IX, 35.

'Uthmân commanded Abû Dharr to leave Medina.

Abû Dharr proposed to withdraw to:

- a) Mecca or Damascus,
- b) Mecca, Kûfah or Baṣrah,
- c) Damascus or Iraq,
- d) Mecca, Jerusalem or Egypt.

'Uthmân refused all these proposals, stipulating al-Rabadhah. 'Alî escorted Abû Dharr on the way to al-Rabadhah in spite of 'Uthmân's prohibition. Of this al-Balâdhurî and others take no notice.

We turn now to the other side of the story. Ibn Sa'd (X, A.D. 845) gives four accounts of the matter in vol. IVi, p. 166, 31–21; p. 167, 1; p. 167, 21; p. 171, 10, cf. Sprenger, vol. III, CV, footnote. One of these rests on the imaginative storyteller Ḥumayd b. Hilâl. According to two of these accounts, one of them by Ḥumayd b. Hilâl, Abû Dharr asked for permission to go to al-Rabadhah, which 'Uthmân granted. The account according to Zayd b. Wahb makes 'Uthmân tell Abû Dharr that

he could withdraw (to a spot) where he would be near. One short note says that 'Uthmân commanded Abû Dharr to go to al-Rabadhah, but no reason for this command is adduced.

al-Ṭabarī (X, A.D. 923), resting on the pro-Umayyad Sayf b. 'Umar gives us an entirely different version in vol. I, v, p. 2858: Abû Dharr went into the presence of the caliph 'Uthmân who asked him what was the matter with the people in Damascus that they should complain of his sharp tongue. Abû Dharr replied that one should not call the property of the people the property of the state and that the rich should not lay treasure up (for this life). 'Uthmân replied that he had to pay what he owed, and that he therefore made the people pay what they owed, and that he did not force them to austerity but that he did exhort them to endeavour and frugality. Then Abû Dharr asked him for permission to leave Medina, because it was no dwelling place for him. 'Uthmân replied that he would receive nothing but evil in exchange for it. Thereupon Abû Dharr said that the apostle of God had commanded him to leave it, to wit, Medina when the news reached it. So 'Uthmân told him to do that which Mohammed had commanded him. So he departed to al-Rabadhah and designed there a mosque and 'Uthmân gave him a troop of camels and slaves and invited him to visit Medina often.

The market place near Mount Sal' at Medina was a notorious gossip centre. Once the news of any matter reached it, there was no hope of suppressing it. This common knowledge was expressed in the words: When the news reaches Mount Sal', the corollary: "then everybody will hear it" remaining implicit. Here this saying is put into the mouth of Mohammed. What this news was we do not know. Actually al-Ṭabarī has al-binâ' instead of al-naba'. That is "the building" instead of "the news". This arises from the fact that in handwritten Arabic the points distinguishing certain letters are not always placed immediately above or below these letters making it possible for the outline of a word to bear several meanings.

We turn now to the account of al-Aḥnaf b. Qays. If this account should show any tendency at all, it is directed against Abû Dharr and his teaching—opposition to his doctrine of austerity was naturally general among those who had possessions to lose. This account is put together from variants by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Bukhârî, al-Râzî and al-Ḳastallânî.¹

al-Aḥnaf b. Qays saw Abû Dharr in Medina with the Ḳuraysh during

¹ AbJ, V, p. 160f.; Bu, I, p. 356f.; Râzî, III, p. 440f.; Ḳas., III, p. 11, 18.

the caliphate of 'Uthmân. There he heard him threatening those that hoarded treasure with branding at which the people fled from him. al-Aḥnaf b. Qays then asked Abû Dharr what he had been preaching. The latter answered: "Nothing but a matter that they have already heard from their prophet" (thus basing his doctrine on utterances ascribed to Mohammed himself). He asked him also why the people fled from him. To this Abû Dharr replied: "Because I forbid them treasure that the apostle of God used to forbid them". al-Aḥnaf b. Qays then made the observation that the people did not seem to like what Abû Dharr said. He replied that the apostle of God had told him that if he were to possess a heap of gold as huge as Mount Uḥud he would give it all away except three dinars (another version gives: one carat). Abû Dharr said finally: "These people (the Quraysh) do not understand. They gather the (goods of this) world. By God, I do not beg (the goods of) the world from them, for I am content with but a little. I do not ask them for a fatwâ for I am content with the knowledge that I learned from the apostle of God until I meet God". (Herein lies much of the asceticism of Abû Dharr. It was his teaching that no one should hoard up that which exceeded his needs).¹

According to al-Dhahabi (X, A.D. 1348) Abû Dharr's teaching in Damascus that one should not possess anything overnight except something to give 'in the way of God' led to Mu'âwiyah's sending him money, to see what he would do with it, on which Abû Dharr gave it all away 'in the way of God'. (Siyar, II, p. 49, 18–20 and 50, 1–9). This must have led to a change in attitude on the part of his sympathisers in Mu'âwiyah's army. Now, the Medinese reacted in the same way and fled from Abû Dharr wherever they caught sight of him (AbḤ V, p. 164, 6–176, 27). On this subject Abû Dharr is reported to have said: "After my arrival in Medina people passed me by as if they had never seen me before" (al-Râzi, III, p. 440). This tradition has a number of variants worthy of examination: Ibn Sa'd (X, A.D. 845), al-Bukhârî (X, A.D. 870) and his commentator al-Ḳastallânî (X, A.D. 1448) all render it thus: "The people swarmed about me/kathura 'alayya 'l-nâs", I.S., IVi, p. 166, 13; Bu, I, p. 355; Ḳas., VII, p. 117.

al-Ṭabarî (X, A.D. 923), Tafsîr, X, p. 72: "The people jostled me/rakibanî 'l-nâs".

al-Râzî (X, A.D. 1209), III, p. 440: "The people avoided me"/anḥaraf al-nâs 'annî".

Together the variants give us this synoptic picture: On his return to

¹ The comments in brackets belong to al-Ḳastallânî.

Medina from Damascus the Medinese swarmed about Abû Dharr, asking him why he had returned and what had passed between him and Mu'âwiyah. In so doing they jostled him. After his threats of branding on account of the hoarding of all superfluous goods the Medinese avoided him wherever they caught sight of him. Telling ~~him~~ the truth had indeed left him no friend. (I.S., IVi, p. 174; al-Maydânî, p. 55; al-Balâdhurî, p. 54, 10–p. 55,6).

delete
"him"

We are aware that we have here brought together elements widely separated in time, but we feel that the result is fairly probable.

According to al-Aḥnaf b. Qays the Medinese hoarders of wealth fled from Abû Dharr because he threatened them with branding. This seems to indicate that he preached from Koran, IX, 34–35. There is no suggestion that anyone took him to task by quoting to him the passages concerning inheritance in order to refute his preaching. Even if anyone had done so, Abû Dharr's reply would no doubt have been that the apostle of God had told him, that if he were to possess a pile of gold as huge as Mount Uḥud, he would give it all away except a carat. Such argument from reputation probably had great effect on the masses, who presumably knew the Koran no better than the Christians of that time knew their scriptures. Accordingly, unable to meet him in dialogue, and disliking what he preached, they avoided him everywhere, as though they had never seen him, in short, they 'cut him dead'. Thus there was no need for 'Uthmân to take any action against Abû Dharr—to banish him for instance. In view of this popular opposition, only one course remained to Abû Dharr—withdrawal from public life. This may have been the opportunity for which the caliph had been waiting. When Abû Dharr complained to him that the Medinese had swarmed about him, jostling him and were now ostracising him, he must have been relieved indeed, so he graciously told him that he could retire to a spot not too far away from Medina (Bu, I, 355; Qas., III, 13; VII, 117; I.S., IVi, 166, 15–20; Tab. Tafs., X, 75; Tab., I, 5, 2861).

There was no need for Abû Dharr to be banished for he had suffered shipwreck—and even if there had been any such need, whither could 'Uthmân have sent him at a time when 'Alî was fomenting the provinces against him? (cf. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 28). Those who would insist that Abû Dharr was indeed banished, or even allowed to retire to al-Rabadhah must consider the fact that al-Rabadhah was a populous, busy staging post on the ancient highway between Mesopotamia and Egypt via the Hejaz. Thus it was indeed 'the worst spot in the district', for here halted caravans from the fermenting

provinces Egypt, Iraq and Syria. If his presence had been dangerous to the security of the state 'Uthmân would have been very unwise indeed to transfer him to an entrepôt whence he could have broadcast his doctrine to the ever expanding confines of the empire of the Arabs. Here it may be apposite to quote Rampoldi, who, not quoting his sources makes 'Uthmân exile Abû Dharr A.H. 30 to Egypt,¹ where he possessed a house (in which he could have been kept under arrest by the garrison in which he had formerly served!). But there also, he would have been a security risk if he had not suffered shipwreck. But since he had lost face there was no harm in his being permitted to withdraw to his estate in al-Rabadhah, and since Abû Dharr had served under Mu'âwiyah at Cyprus during the caliphate of 'Uthmân, it does not strain one's credulity, that the caliph there presented him with camels, slaves, a daily portion of meat and an allotment from public funds.

al-Rabadhah

al-Rabadhah was grazing ground of an area of some 250 square miles which Abû Bakr confiscated from the Banû Tha'labah (Løkkegaard, p. 21, p. 31). Thousands of camels grazed there (Ibn Hajar, Iṣābah, p. 50, 1). According to a private communication from the Royal Geographical Society its position is 30 degrees 58 minutes N. Latitude and 43 degrees 40 minutes E. Longitude. There are wells there to this day (Musil). It lies on the ancient caravan route between the biblical Assyria and Egypt via the Hejaz. It was a regular halting place for caravans plying between Egypt, Syria and Iraq, the fermenting provinces, whence the mutiny against the caliph 'Uthmân arose. The caliph could not have been unaware of the discontent that was smouldering in the provinces, that flared up about the time of Abû Dharr's death, a busy entrepôt was therefore hardly the place to which he would have sent a preacher allegedly dangerous to the existing order. Through his ranting on the point of self-denial Abû Dharr had suffered shipwreck, so there can be no question of banishment at the hands of the caliph. Abû Dharr was probably glad to retire to the estate that he there possessed (AbḤ, V, p. 150, 22; p. 164, 20) where he kept no fewer

¹ Rampoldi, G. B., *Annali mussulmani*, II, pp. 166–167, Milano, 1822. Anno 651: L' Arabo Abudar figlio d' Akad cominciò circa questo tempo a mormorare e a dir male intorno all' amministrazione del kaliffo. Othman altra pena non gl' inflisse, se non quella di partire per l' esercito d' Africa. Questo mite castigo concitò altre persone a seguire le pedate d'Abudar.

than thirty riding horses (al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh*, p. 115, 7).

al-Ya'qûbī makes Abû Dharr call himself al-Rabadhī and makes 'Uthmân tell him to go back to al-Rabadhah, where he came from (Houtsma, II, 198).

Secondary Sources

E. G. Browne, *Literary History of the Persians*, pp. 212–217, London, 1902–1906.

"Although the Umayyad Caliphate, strictly speaking, began with the death of 'Alī and the accession of Mu'âwiyah in A.D. 661, the tendencies which led to its establishment go back to the rule of 'Uthmân (A.D. 644–656), the third of the four "Orthodox Caliphs." . . . The creation of a common national feeling amongst the Arabs, nay more, of a common religious feeling among all Muslims, in place of the narrow clannishness of the heathen Arabs, was one of the greatest and most notable results of the Prophet's mission. But such counsels of perfection were from the first hard to follow, being too radically opposed to ancient and deeply-rooted national instincts, and even the Prophet's partiality for Mecca, his native city, and the Quraysh, his own tribe, had on several occasions given rise to some discontent and murmuring on the part of his allies of Medina (the Ansâr, or "Helpers") to whose timely aid his cause owed so much. Still, on the whole, this ideal of equality amongst all Muslims was fairly maintained until the death of 'Umar in A.D. 644. That it was the ideal is apparent from numerous passages both in the Qur'ân and in Tradition, such as "the noblest of you in the sight of God is he who most feareth God" (Qur'ân, xlix, 13); "the believers are but brethren, so make peace between your two brothers" (Qur'ân, xlix, 10); "O man! God hath taken away from you the arrogance of heathen days and the ancient pride in ancestry; an Arab hath no other precedence over a barbarian than by virtue of the fear of God; ye are all the progeny of Adam, and Adam himself is of the earth" (Tradition).¹ At this time, it is true, there were but a very few non-Arabs or "barbarians" who had embraced Islâm, and it is doubtful whether, even in his moments of greatest optimism, the Prophet ever dreamed of his religion extending much beyond the Arabian peninsula; but here at least is the idea, clearly expressed, of a potential equality amongst believers, and an aristocracy not of birth but of faith.

¹ See von Kremer's *Streifzüge*, p. 22.

"With the accession of 'Uthmân, however, the old nepotism and clannish feeling once more became very evident; and dangers of sedition and schism, already imminent by reason of the jealousies between Mecca and Madîna, between the Muhâjirûn ("Exiles") and the Anşâr ("Helpers"), between the Hâshimite and Umayyad factions of the Prophet's tribe of Quraysh, and between this tribe and the other Arabs, who regarded its ascendancy with ill-concealed discontent, were brought to a head by the new Caliph's irresolution and weakness, obstinacy, and undisguised furtherance of the interests of his Umayyad kinsmen, even of those whose attachment to Islâm was most open to doubt. . . .

"From the very beginning of his reign 'Uthmân showed a tendency to favour his friends and kinsmen at the expense and to the detriment of that rigid and unswerving justice which Islâm had set up as its ideal. That Abû Lûlû'a, the Persian slave who had assassinated 'Umar the late Caliph, should suffer the penalty of death was natural enough; but 'Umar's son, 'Ubaydu'llâh, not content with slaying the assassin also slew a Persian noble named Hurmuzân, a captive of war who had made profession of Islâm, because he suspected him of complicity. Of such complicity there was no proof, and 'Alî, ever rigorous in upholding the laws of Islâm, held that 'Ubaydu'llâh should be put to death, as having slain a believer without due cause. 'Uthmân, however, would not hear of this, but instead named a monetary compensation, which he himself paid;¹ and when Ziyâd b. Labîd, one of the Anşâr, upbraided him in verse² for his misplaced leniency, he silenced and expelled the overbold poet.

"Thus from the very moment of his accession 'Uthmân's readiness to be swayed by personal considerations was apparent, but it became much more conspicuous as time went on. The Arabs in general were embittered against the tribe of Quraysh, whose supremacy they watched with growing jealousy; and now 'Uthmân's open partiality for the Umayyad branch of that tribe, which had strenuously and bitterly opposed the Prophet so long as opposition was possible, and had only made a tardy and unwilling profession of Islâm when it could no longer be resisted, thoroughly alienated the Hâshimite branch, so that even Quraysh was no longer united. Some of the most inveterate enemies of the Prophet, such as Abû Sarḥ, 'Uthmân's foster brother, whom Muhammad would have put to death on the capture of Mecca but for

¹ Muir's *Caliphate*, p. 205.

² Tabari, ed. de Goeje, V, p. 2796.

'Uthmân's intercession, were raised to the highest commands and enriched with the most princely salaries. Men notoriously lax in their religious duties, like Walid b. 'Uqba, whose father had been put to death by the Prophet after the battle of Badr with a "promise of hell-fire", and Sa'id b. al-'Âṣ whose father was slain at the same battle in the ranks of the heathen, were given rich governments. Walid, to whom the government of Kûfa was given, came drunk to the mosque, said the wrong prayers, and then asked the congregation whether they had had enough, or would like some more. He was of course dismissed, but the further chastisement ordained by Islâm was only inflicted by 'Ali's insistence against 'Uthmân's wish. Ibn 'Âmir, the Caliph's young cousin, was made governor of Baṣra, on hearing which the old governor, Abû Mûsâ, whom he had supplanted, said, "Now ye will have a tax-gatherer to your heart's content, rich in cousins, aunts, and uncles, who will flood you with his harpies".¹ Sa'id b. al-'âṣ, the new governor of Kûfa, was as bad as his predecessor, so that the people murmured and said, "One of the Quraysh succeedeth another as governor, the last no better than the first. It is but out of the frying-pan into the fire".

"The growing discontent had other grounds, which led to the alienation of many old Companions of the Prophet remarkable for their piety and ascetic life. Ibn Mas'ûd, one of the greatest authorities on the text of the Qur'ân, was deeply offended by 'Uthmân's high-handed recension² of the Holy Book, and more particularly by his destruction of all "unauthorised versions". *Abû Dharr, who preached the equality of all believers and denounced the growing luxury, was driven into exile, where he died.*³ (sic!)

* Innovations, for which no good reason beyond the Caliph's will was assigned, added to the rising flood of disaffection, which culminated in the cruel murder of the aged Caliph by a band of malcontents, in the women's apartments of his own house, in the holy city of Madîna, on June 17, A.D. 656. His wife Nâ'ila, faithful to the last, attempted to ward off with her hand a blow aimed at him by one of the assassins whereby several of her fingers were cut off. These fingers, together

¹ Muir's *Caliphate*, p. 217.

² Observation: According to al-Wâḳidî, quoted by al-Balâdhurî (*Ansâb al-ashrâf*, p. 56, 3) Ibn Mas'ûd prayed over Abû Dharr's body at al-Rabadhah at the end of the eleventh month of A.H. 31. Some ten days later he also died (al-Dhahabî, *Siyar*, p. 54, 9) and thus before 'Uthmân's recension of the Koran which took place A.H. 32 during the Armenian war.

³ al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj*, IV, 268ff.

with the blood-stained shirt of the aged Caliph, were afterwards exhibited by Mu'âwiyah in the mosque of Damascus, in order to arouse the anger of the Syrians against the murderers.¹

"The death of 'Uthmân destroyed once and for all the outward semblance of unity which had hitherto existed in Islâm, and led directly to wars wherein for the first time the sword was turned by Muslims against their fellow-believers. 'Ali was at length chosen Caliph—a tardy recognition, as many thought, of his well-founded claims to that high office—to the disappointment of Ṭalḥa and Zubayr, who, incited by 'â'isha, the daughter of Abû Bakr and widow of the Prophet, revolted against him and paid for their presumption with their lives at the Battle of the Camel, wherein ten thousand Muslims perished" (December, A.D. 656).²

A Sketch of the Conflict by Sir William Muir (*Annals of the Early Caliphate*, 1883, pp. 309–311)

"The story of Abû Dzarr Ghifâry is singularly illustrative of the times, and his harsh treatment is ordinarily mentioned as a serious ground of complaint against the Caliph ('Uthmân). He was one of the earliest converts to the faith; and tradition asserts that he even anticipated Mahomet himself in some of the observances of Islam. An ascetic in his habits, he inveighed against the riches and extravagance of the day—evils which were altogether alien from the simplicity of Mahomet, and which, rushing in like a flood, were now demoralising the people. Gorgeous palaces, crowds of slaves, multitudes of horses, camels, flocks and herds, profusion of costly garments, sumptuous fare, and splendid equipage, were the fashion, not only in Syria and Irâc, but had begun to find their way even into the Hejaz.³ The protest of Abû Dzarr points

¹ al-Fakhri, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 110.

² Browne, E. G., *Literary History of Persia*, pp. 212–217. cf. the article on 'Uthmân in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

³ al-Mas'ûdî, an unprejudiced witness (sic!) dwells on this as one of the causes of demoralisation and disloyalty now setting in so rapidly, and he gives some remarkable instances. Zobeir had 1,000 slaves, male and female, and 1,000 horses. At all the great cities he had palaces, and the one at Bussorah was still to be seen in the fourth century. His landed estate in Irâc was rated at 1,000 golden pieces a day. Abd al Rahmân had 1,000 camels, 10,000 sheep, and 100 horses, and he left property valued at between three and four hundred thousand dinars. Zeid left gold and silver in great ingots, and had land valued at 10,000 dinars. . . .

al-Mas'ûdî contrasts painfully all this luxury at home and abroad with the frugal severity that prevailed even in the Caliphate of Omar, who grudged to spend sixteen dinars on the pilgrimage to Mecca.

to the recoil of the stricter class of believers against all this luxury and indulgence; and the manner in which the discontented classes, and the advocates of communism, were beginning to turn that recoil to their own account, and to the discredit of the government. Visiting Syria, the spirit of the ascetic was stirred at the pomps and vanities so rife around him, and he preached repentance to the inhabitants of Damascus. 'This gold and silver of yours,' he cried, 'shall one day be heated red-hot in the fire of hell; and therewith shall ye be seared in your foreheads, sides, and backs, ye ungodly spendthrifts!'¹ Wherefore, spend now the same in alms, leaving yourselves enough but for your daily bread; or else woe be to you in that day!' Crowds flocked to hear him, some trembling under the rebuke; the envious rejoicing at the contempt poured on the rich and noble; and the people dazzled by the vision of themselves sharing in the treasures thus denounced. Uneasy at the disturbance caused by these diatribes in the public mind, Muâvia resolved to test the spirit of the preacher. He sent him a purse of a thousand pieces; in the morning, affecting to have made a mistake, he demanded the return of the gift; but during the night Abû Dzarr had distributed the whole in charity. Upon this, Muâvia, apprehensive of the spread of communistic doctrines, despatched the preacher to Medîna, telling Othmân that he was a sincere but misguided enthusiast. Before the Caliph, Abû Dzarr persisted in fearlessly denouncing the great and wealthy, and urged that they should be forced to disgorge their riches. Othmân condescended to reason with him. 'After men have completely fulfilled their legal obligation,' he asked, 'what power remaineth with me to compel them to any further sacrifice?' and he turned to Kâb, the learned Jewish convert, in corroboration of what he had said. 'Out upon thee, thou son of a Jew! What have I to do with thee?' cried Abû Dzarr, and with these words smote Kâb violently upon the stomach. Arguments being thus of no further use, Othmân banished the preacher to Rabadza in the desert of Nejd, where two years after he died in penury. As he felt his end approach, the hermit desired his daughter to slay a kid, and have it ready for a party of travellers, who, he said, would shortly pass that way to Mecca, and bury him; then, making her turn his face toward the Kâaba, he quietly breathed his last. Soon after, the expected party came up, and amongst them Ibn Masûd from Kûfa, who, weeping over him, bewailed his fate, and buried him on the spot on which he died. The death of Ibn Masûd himself, a few days after, added to the pathos of the incident. The

¹ cf. Koran, IX, vv. 34-35.

plaintive tale was soon in everyone's mouth; and the banishment of the pious ascetic and preacher of righteousness was made much of by the enemies of the Caliph. The necessity was forgotten; the obloquy remained.¹

Observations:

This summary is useful inasmuch as it exemplifies the hotch potch that results from the attempt to produce a well rounded story by jumbling together fragments stemming from various schools of thought of different periods.

Sir William takes no notice of the earliest account of Abû Dharr's difference of opinion with Mu'âwiyah concerning the interpretation of Koran, IX, verses 34 and 35;

he reproduces the account of the affair of the purse of a thousand pieces without mentioning the source, which must be: al-Dhahabî, *Siyar a'lâm al-nubulâ*, p. 49, 18 to p. 50, 9.

he describes al-Mas'ûdî, X, A.D. 956, as an 'unprejudiced witness', whereas in fact he was a fanatical admirer of 'Alî, and excelled not only all those that went before him but also all those that came after him in the laudatory evaluation of 'Alî's character, and was ipso facto commensurately a detractor of those considered by the partisans of 'Alî to be his enemies—especially 'Uthmân and his kinsmen Mu'âwiyah and Marwân. This is explained, perhaps, by the fact that he wrote under the pro-'Alid Buwayhids, A.D. 945–1055.

he mentions, without naming his work, another source, namely Ibn al-Athîr, X, A.D. 1234, who borrows materials from al-Ṭabari, X, A.D. 923, namely that Abû Dharr's preaching tended to excite the poor

¹ Attempts are made by Abbaside tradition to show that Abû Dzarr was driven into opposition by the tyranny of Mu'âvia's rule in Syria, and by divers ungodly practices at Medina, which he denounced as certain to bring down judgment on the city. But Ibn al Athîr (cf. al-Ṭabari, I, v, 2858f.) justly doubts this and distinctly says that his preaching tended to excite the poor against the rich. Abû Dzarr's doctrines were based on the equality of all believers; and the danger lay in their popularity with the socialistic faction which decried the pretensions of the Coreish. Before Mu'âvia, he reasoned thus: 'Riches, ye say, are the Lord's; and thereby ye frustrate the people's right therein; for the Lord hath given them to his people.' 'Out upon thee!' replied Mu'âvia; 'What is this but a quibble of words? Are we not all of us the Lord's people, and the riches belong unto the same?' (*ibidem*) Tradition dwells on the poverty of Abu Dzarr's life at Rabadza to add point to Othmân's unkind treatment. The Beni (sic!) Ghifâr, his tribe, are said to have ~~reached~~ ^{resented} his ill treatment by joining the insurgents when they appeared.

against the rich, but he takes no notice of al-Ṭabarī's declaration that he stood on the side of those that excuse Mu'āwiyah in the affair of Abū Dharr (Ṭab., Iv, 2895f).

In due course we show Sayf b. 'Umar's account, reproduced by al-Ṭabarī, of the controversy between Mu'āwiyah and Abū Dharr—Sir William's 'quibble of words', to be anachronistic, and question Sir William's materials on a number of points, namely:

- 1) that Abū Dharr was one of the earliest converts
- 2) that Mu'āwiyah despatched him from Damascus
- 3) that 'Uthmān banished him to al-Rabadhah
- 4) that he there lived in poverty and died in penury.

Further we endeavour to show that the reports on the quarrel between Abū Dharr and Ka'b al-aḥbār alias Ka'b al-ḥabr evince great incongruity.

It is our contention that Abū Dharr's controversy was with the whole class of those who secularised the theocracy of Islam and that by reason of the failure of his preaching he withdrew from Damascus to Medina and thence to al-Rabadhah, further that it is not known what Abū Dharr preached at Damascus and that it is difficult to believe that he preached against the possession of superfluous property in flat contradiction of the Koranic provisions for inheritance by which his alleged opinion could have been refuted.

A Sketch by A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen+und Abendland*, Berlin, 1885, vol. I, pp. 299–300, cf. al-Ya'qûbî, Houtsma II, 198. Morgen-

When Abū Ṣufyân died at Medina, A.H. 31/A.D. 651–652, it was granted him to leave this world with the conscious knowledge that would at all events satisfy him, namely that he had succeeded in helping himself, his relatives and friends with foresight and sagacity through the most difficult times, until even more than formerly in Mecca, they already again in the great caliphate occupied the highest positions and were the richest of people.

When 'Uthmān said the prayers for the dead for his deceased uncle Abū Ṣufyân (the cousin of his father 'Affân), the less established than garish might of the house of Umayyah had already begun to vacillate at more than one point. The indignation of the pious at the vexatious prevalence of uppishness and immorality had already, A.H. 30/A.D. 650–651, moved Abū Dharr, a companion of Mohammed's, honoured by reason of his strict piety, publicly to take a stand in Damascus against such godlessness, to preach the return to pious conduct, the application of the riches that had been acquired to godpleasing

purposes, and not to sinful luxury. In his orations he finally attacked the governor (Mu'āwiyah). But the latter had no humour, had him seized and despatched him to Medina. There also the zealot could not cease to proclaim his ascetic principles. Standing at the door of the Mosque of the Prophet he thundered against the godless, and everyone knew that the scathing words concerned no one more than al-Ḥakam, an uncle of the caliph's who during the prophet's lifetime, and still later until the death of 'Umar, had been banished to a small spot on account of his enmity towards Islam, and who now puffed himself up with newly acquired riches in the society of the caliph, while his son Marwān exercised evil influence as the most confidential counsellor of the ruler. Finally Abū Dharr agitated against 'Uthmān himself by calling upon the community to give the pre-eminence to the one, to whom God gave the pre-eminence and to hold back the one that God held back and to keep the government and the inheritance permanently in the family of the prophet (sic!), that is, to make 'Alī caliph in the place of 'Uthmān. At this the latter lost all patience, had Abū Dharr brought to him and announced to him banishment to the neighbouring small spot, al-Rabadhah, and turning to Marwān, who happened to be present, continued: Take him out of the town and let no one speak to him until he is outside. So he took him out, thus the story continues, on a camel with his wife and daughter. By chance he passed by 'Alī in the company of his two sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn as well as 'Ammar b. Yāsir. Abū Dharr kissed 'Alī's hand and began a conversation in which 'Alī joined straight away. On Marwān's remarking, that the Commander of the Faithful had forbidden that anyone should speak to Abū Dharr, 'Alī struck Marwān's camel on the snout with his whip (so that it shied backwards—not in the text), saying: Out of the way! May God cast thee into the fire of Hell! Then he continued to accompany Abū Dharr, postponing their parting. Abū Dharr died shortly afterwards in al-Rabadhah. But the feeling of indignation against the worldliness of the ruling class, to which he had given expression, lived on among the believers and quite naturally turned the regard to all those that took their religion seriously to the household of the prophet, who had unjustly been thrust into the background by those Umayyads whose fathers had formerly so (grievously) tormented the messenger of God during his time of suffering in Mecca, while in broader circles of Arabia the view was spreading more and more that the caliphate was due by right to 'Alī. . . .

A Sketch by Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî in *The Muslim World*, LVII, Jan. 1957, 1-9

Translation by Sami A. Hanna

"Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî, the revered companion of the Prophet, was the first to see the danger threatening the state and the Muslim community. He accordingly approached Mu'âwiyah and spoke to him of the need for turning back to live the life of the pious ancestors; to curb opulence and to put a stop to those things which make for envy to eradicate them from the Muslim governing classes. He exhorted him at great length and recounted the potential danger from the impoverished but perceptive laboring classes. They themselves while enduring hardships and deprivations were living among people who were enjoying a life of ease despite the fact that neither they nor their fathers did anything for Islam, nor were they superior in any way by reason of character, by services rendered or by physical powers or learning, to give them the right to the luxuries they were enjoying, apart from being in some way connected with army leaders and government officials.

"Mu'âwiyah, while admitting the truth of all that, said that he could not revert to the life of Abû Bakr, nor could he do what 'Umar did, the most he could do was to urge people to distribute more alms; he could but counsel and softly exhort to abstain from what might excite envy, but could do nothing more. Abû Dharr said that he proffered advice; religion could do no more; and after bidding him read the handwriting on the wall, Abû Dharr left the council chamber in anger.

"Abû Dharr then met with the disaffected and those suffering hardships and spoke to them about their pious forebears. He repeated his conversation with Mu'âwiyah and expressed sympathy with all they felt. In short, he encouraged them to rise and demand what was their due and was taken from them by people with no precedent to go on. This resulted in commotion, and Mu'âwiyah and his partisans feared the dire consequences that might follow.

"Mu'âwiyah, being shrewd and crafty, contrived a plan. He sent to Abû Dharr a thousand dinars which the latter promptly distributed among the poor and needy. The following day Mu'âwiyah sent a messenger, who knew all about the plan, to say, 'Spare me, Abû Dharr, the tortures which Mu'âwiyah will inflict upon me: the dinars were not meant for you, it was my mistake.' Abû Dharr replied, 'swear that I have not one dinar left of all the money sent me. I beg for time for me to get it back from the poor Muslims among whom the money was

distributed.' Mu'āwiyah, knowing this to be the case, could do nothing about it.

"Mu'āwiyah accordingly wrote asking the Caliph to help him deal with the commotion which Abū Dharr was causing. The Caliph asked for Abū Dharr to be sent to him without delay. When Abū Dharr met with 'Uthmān he got the same reply previously received from Mu'āwiyah. And Abū Dharr went on to remind the Caliph of what the Prophet had said, namely, that when the built-up areas in Medina, soaring and spreading, should extend to Mount Sal'a, one should emigrate. 'The buildings put up by you and Mu'āwiyah, your kinsman, have reached towering heights. I therefore bid you farewell, leaving you your work and that of your agent: God is behind them, encompassing.' (S., 85, 20).¹ When 'Uthmān begged him not to go, he replied that the Prophet was more deserving to be followed, and he left Medina.

"Abū Dharr merely counselled the Caliph and his officials to protect the rights of Muslims and thus forestall the formation of a socialist faction motivated by feelings of revenge, urging them to do as the Scriptures say and implement them in the manner of Abū Bakr and 'Umar."

Observations:

The reader will recognise in the first three paragraphs of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī elements of the account ascribed to Sayf b. 'Umar reproduced by al-Ṭabarī, and in the fourth and fifth al-Dhahabī's story, quoted by Sir William Muir, of the thousand pieces of gold said to have been sent by Mu'āwiyah to Abū Dharr by whom they were distributed to the poor and needy. The sixth paragraph expresses an opinion of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī that is difficult to grasp, because Abū Dharr's teaching that one ought to distribute one's surplus in acts of charity is plainly socialistic.

A note by G. Zaydan in *Islamic Civilisation*, translated by D. S. Margoliouth, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, vol. iv, Umayyads and 'Abbāsids, p. 254.

"When the Umayyads aspired to the sovereignty, and endeavoured to secure it by craft and violence, among other principles followed by the Pious Caliphs was neglected by them was the practice of following the dicta of the learned, since, had they continued to follow them, they could never have attained to the sovereignty. At the commencement of the Umayyad period the learned were subject to various forms of

¹ Rodwell, p. 43.

torture and coercion, some of them suffering themselves to be forced to give such decisions as the Umayyads desired, whereas others refusing to do so were persecuted and annoyed. This process commenced ever in the time of 'Uthmân, when the governors of the provinces belonged to the Umayyad family, and began to prepare the way for the sovereignty of the family by amassing wealth and appropriating the influential posts.

"The story of Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî and Mu'âwiyah Ibn Abî Sufyân gives a remarkable illustration of the courage of the scholars of the time in browbeating the Caliphs, as also of the objection taken by the Caliphs to such conduct."

Observation:

Abû Dharr's preaching from Koran, IX, 34–35 was addressed to all those that were niggardly towards God, whether they be Muslim, Jew or Christian and not especially to the caliph 'Uthmân and his kinsman Mu'âwiyah. But we welcome the opportunity of agreeing with the writer that Abû Dharr was indeed a courageous man.

Chapter V

ABÛ DHARR'S DEATH AND BURIAL

Ibn Sa'd—Kitâb al-ṭabaḳât al-kabîr, IVi, 171, 15

'Affân b. Muslim told Ibn Sa'd that death overtook Abû Dharr at al-Rabadhah. When his wife began to weep he asked her why she was weeping. So she told him that she had neither the strength to bury him, nor the cloth necessary for a shroud. He comforted her, telling her not to weep, for he had once been in a group with the apostle of God, and had heard him say that one of this group would surely die amidst desolation, but that nevertheless a group of Muslims would attend his funeral. He went on to say that every other member of that group had died among his community in his village, and that he was the only one left, and that since he was now amidst desolation, he would die. Then he told her to watch the road, telling her that she was about to experience that which he was telling her, for he had not lied or been lied to. He then said that he was the one whom the prophet had meant. Then he repeated his injunction that she should watch the road, although the pilgrims had ceased (to pass that way). While she was thus engaged, she suddenly caught sight of some riders whose camels were coursing along with them like vultures. (Here Ibn Sa'd comments that that is what 'Affân said, although it would have been correct to say that they were dragging their feet/taxuddû. The account following next after this has taxaddû instead of tajaddû/hurry.) They rode up to her, halted and asked her what distressed her. She answered: A man from among the Muslims whom ye shall bury. When they asked her who he was, she replied that it was Abû Dharr. Thereupon they swore by their fathers and mothers, applied the whip to their mounts and rode up to him. Then Abû Dharr told them to rejoice because they were the group of whom the apostle of God had spoken. Then he said that if he had a piece of cloth that would go round him he would be enshrouded in that alone. He begged them that no one among them who might hold a governmental post should enshroud him. All those present gave something except a young man of the Helpers/aṣṣâr, who was standing among them and who said: I am thy friend. At thy disposal I have in

my chest two robes of cloth woven by my mother, also one of the two robes that I wear (thou mayest have). Thereupon Abû Dharr said: Thou art my friend. Enshroud me!

Ibn Sa'd—Kitâb al-ṭabaḳât al-kabîr, IVi, 172, 7

According to the father of Ibrahîm (Ibn al-Ashtar) when death came to Abû Dharr his wife wept. When he asked her what was making her weep, she said that she was weeping because she had neither the strength to bury him nor a garment to enshroud him. He told her not to weep because he had heard the apostle of God say to a certain group that one of them would die in desolation, and that nevertheless a party of believers would be present (at his demise), further that there was not a man of that group that had not already died in a village or in a community of believers and that he was the one that was to die in desolation/fulâh. He swore by God that he had not lied or been deceived. Then he told her to watch the road. Although she retorted that the pilgrims had ceased (to pass that way) she ran to a sand dune, climbed it and kept a look-out. She returned to him, and, finding him ill, went back to the sand dune and there caught sight of a group, whose camels were ambling/taxuddu¹ like vultures (vultures have indeed a cumbrous gait!). When she waved to them with her dress they rode up to her, halted, and asked her what ailed her. She replied that a Muslim was dying, whom they were going to enshroud. When they asked her who he was, she said that it was Abû Dharr. So, swearing by their fathers and mothers, they applied the whip to their mounts and rode up to him. Telling them to rejoice, he related to them the ḥadîth/account that the apostle of God had imparted to him. Then he said that he had heard the apostle of God say that Muslim parents who had lost two or three children, asked God to impute this to them as merit, and endured it with patience, would never see the fire (cf. Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, V, 52, 13; 159, 1; 160, 16).² Then he said that if he had a garment large enough to enshroud him, he would not be enshrouded except in a garment of his own, or if his wife had a garment large enough to enshroud him, he would not be enshrouded except in her garment. Then he implored them by God and Islam that no one of them who

¹I.S., IVi, 171, 25 above has tajuddu/were hastening but Ibn al-Athîr, Usd al-Ghâbah, I, 302, 15f has taxubbu/were ambling.

²The doctrine of the acquisition of merit by suffering patiently borne, as also the doctrine in note 2 below, was unknown to early Islam.

might hold a governmental post should enshroud him.¹ At this they all began to take some of their garments off, (to offer them), except a young man of the Helpers/ansâr, who said that he had not wished to be that of which Abû Dharr had spoken (government servants) and that he would enshroud him in the robe that he was wearing and in the two robes in his trunk of the cloth spun and woven by his mother. So Abû Dharr said: Enshroud me. So the Anṣârî enshrouded him.

In the party that was present (at the funeral) were Ḥujr b. al-Adbar and Mâlik al-Ashtar. All those in the party were from the Yemen.

Ibn Sa'd—Kitâb al-ṭabaḳât al-kabîr, IVi, 173, 2

After 'Uthmân had banished Abû Dharr to al-Rabadhah death came to him. Now there was no one with him except his wife and his slave. So he ordered them both to wash and enshroud him, lay him in the middle of the road and tell the first one that should pass that way that this was Abû Dharr the companion of the apostle of God and to ask him to help them with his burial. All this they did. Then 'Abdullah b. Mas'ûd came along with a party from Iraq, making straight for them. His camel nearly trod on the bier in the middle of the road. Then the slave arose and told the party that this was Abû Dharr the companion of the apostle of God and begged them to help them with his interment. Thereupon 'Abdullah b. Mas'ûd burst out weeping, saying: By the truth of the apostle of Allâh, thou walkest alone, diest alone and wilt be raised alone. Then he and his companions dismounted and buried him. Then 'Abdullah b. Mas'ûd told them his news and what the apostle of God had said about Abû Dharr on the march against Tabûk (namely that Mohammed said of Abu Dharr that he walked alone, would die alone and be raised alone, cf. *Wâḳidî*, Wellhausen, p. 395 and Ibn Ishâḳ, p. 901).

al-Balâdhurî—Ansâb al-ashrâf, V, 55–6

When death came to Abû Dharr in al-Rabadhah riders from Kûfah approached. Among these were: Jurayr b. 'Abdullah al-Bajalî, Mâlik b. al-Ḥârith al-Ashtar al-Nakha'î, al-Aswad b. Yuzayd b. Ḳays b. Yuzayd al-Nakha'î, 'Alḳamah b. Ḳays b. Yuzayd the uncle of al-Aswad. When they had asked about him and found him he was already dead. But

¹The pious had to eschew anything that might have been acquired with money by civil servants by reason of the suspicion that such money would have been partly or wholly improperly obtained.

Jurayr said: This is a blessing that God hath granted us and embalmed and enshrouded him and prayed over him. But some say that it was al-Ashtar who prayed over him. They conveyed his wife to Medina. His death occurred while four years of 'Uthmân's caliphate remained, i.e. during A.H. 31. al-Wâqidî said that it was Ibn Mas'ûd who prayed over him at al-Rabadhah at the end of Dhu 'l-Ķa'dah (the eleventh month) of A.H. 31.

A group left al-Kûfah for the pilgrimage to Mecca and arrived at al-Rabadhah. There they sent a man to buy a sheep. So he went to a tent and asked for meat. So Umm Dharr (Abû Dharr's wife) asked what good might come of that. So he asked what had happened. So she said that Abû Dharr had died and that the people were absent so that there was no one with him to wash and bury him although he had prayed to God that He might dispose pious people to wash and bury him. So the man went back to the group and informed them accordingly. So they came up in a hurry bringing with them a shroud and balm and stayed with his wife until they had buried him.

Abû Dharr's wife said after his death that he had died while she was sitting beside him, and that afterwards a troop of riders came up, saluted and asked after him. (Pointing to his body) she replied: This corpse is he. I am unable to wash and bury him. Then Jurayr b. 'Abdullah producing balm and a shroud embalmed and enshrouded him. Then they buried him. Afterwards they took her to Medina. And she said that Abû Dharr had told her that the apostle of God had told him that he would die in banishment and that a group of pious men would attend his burial.

al-Ṭabarî-Ta'rikh al-rusul wa 'l-mulûk, I, v, 2895, 1

According to Sayf b. 'Umar Abû Dharr died A.H. 32.

When Abû Dharr's last hour came in the month of pilgrimage in the eighth year (A.H. 31) of the caliphate of 'Uthmân the angel of death came down to Abû Dharr. Now when he was on the point of death he told his daughter to arise and see if anyone were there. She replied that there was no one there. Before an hour had elapsed he told her to kill a sheep, which she then cooked. Then he told her to tell those that would come to bury him that he begged them not to depart before they had dined. When her dish was ready he told her to see whether she could see anyone. She answered that some riders were approaching them. So he told her to face him towards the Ka'bah. As she did so he said: In the name of God and by God and by the community of the

apostle of God, and died. His daughter then went out to meet the riders, saying: May God have mercy on you. They asked her where Abû Dharr was, so she pointed to him saying: He is already dead. So bury him. They replied that God had blessed them thereby.

The party of riders had come from Kûfah and among them was 'Abdullah b. Mas'ûd. The riders turned towards Abû Dharr, Ibn Mas'ûd weeping the while and saying: By the truth of the apostle of God, he dieth alone and is raised alone. (cf. *Wâḳidī*, Wellhausen, p. 395 and Ibn Ishâq, p. 901). Then they washed him, enshrouded him, prayed for him and buried him. When the riders were about to depart Abû Dharr's daughter told them that her father paid his compliments to them and begged them not to depart before they had dined. So they accepted the invitation. Afterwards they took Abû Dharr's family to Mecca and conducted them to 'Uthmân who took Abû Dharr's daughter into his household, saying: May God have mercy on Abû Dharr.

al-Ṭabarī—Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa'l-mulûk, I, v, 2896, 1

al-Ḥalḥâl b. Dhurrî said: We set out with Ibn Mas'ûd in the year 31 H. We numbered fourteen riders and travelled to al-Rabadhah. There a woman met us asking us to attend to Abû Dharr. We were not aware of his case for news of it had not reached us. We asked her where he was. So she pointed to a tent. We asked her what had ailed him. She replied that he had left Medina in accordance with the permission there given to him. Ibn Mas'ûd then asked her what had moved him to dwell with the Bedouins. She answered that the Commander of the Faithful ('Uthmân) had disliked the idea but had conceded that it was a town although it was far away. Then Ibn Mas'ûd bowed over him and wept. We then washed him and enshrouded him. As we did so they pitched a small tent sprinkled with musk. So we asked his wife what it was. She said that they had had some musk and that while Abû Dharr was still with them he had said that those that would attend his funeral would detect the smell of the dead and not eat and that we should therefore mix the musk with water and sprinkle the tent with it, receive them as guests in its fragrance and cook this meat. For, said he, pious men would attend his funeral, whom we should receive as guests. When we had buried him she invited us to the repast. So we ate of it. Then we resolved to take her with us. Ibn Mas'ûd remarked that the Commander of the Faithful ('Uthmân) was near, and that we should consult him. Thereupon we went to Mecca and apprised him of the news. He said: May God have mercy on Abû Dharr and forgive him his retreat to

al-Rabadhah. Then he took the road to al-Rabadhah and joined Abû Dharr's family to his own, going afterwards to Medina. We, however, made for Iraq. Our party included: 1. Ibn Mas'ûd; 2. Abû Mufazzir (Muḳran al-Tamîmî); 3. Bakr b. Ḳays al-Nakha'î; 4. al-Ḥalḥâh b. Dhurri al-Ḍabbî; 5. al-Ḥârith b. Suyad al-Tamîmî; 6. 'Amr b. 'Utbah b. Farḳad al-Sullamî; 7. Ibn Rabî' al-Sullamî; 8. Abû Râfi' al-Muzannî; 9. Suwayd b. Math'bah al-Tamîmî; 10. Zayâd b. Mu'âwiyah al-Nakha'î; 11. the brother of al-Ḳartha' al-Ḍabbî; 12. the brother of Mi'ḍad al-Shaybânî.

Caetani, *Chronographia*, anno 32, "the list of the names of the members of the Kufan caravan that buried Abû Dharr contains some mentioned among those who were in Azerbaijan in the disaster of Balanjâr. Therefore, either the list is incorrect, or the death of Abû Dharr must be placed a year or two earlier. The former may be the more probable because Sayf loves to fill his traditions with names and to repeat the same in various traditions concerning facts of the greatest importance." This is borne out by al-Wâkidî who puts Abû Dharr's death in the eleventh month of A.H. 31.

Appendices

TRAITS OF ABÛ DHARR'S IMAGE

Examination of the sparsely strewn accounts concerning Abû Dharr shows that traits are ascribed to him that are common to the orthodox caliphs Abû Bakr and 'Umar, as well as to 'Alî, who are all noted for their manly, soldierly virtues and for their piety.

Abû Bakr

The figure to which the image of Abû Dharr bears the most striking resemblance is that of the first caliph Abû Bakr. Both gave their entire substance in alms. Both insisted on the payment of the poor-rate/zakât. Both are said to have acted as prayer leader/imâm during Mohammed's absence. Both are placed among the earliest believers in Mohammed's mission. Abû Dharr is brought, in the stories of his conversion, into contact with Abû Bakr, who allegedly accommodated, fed and clothed him and helped him to find Mohammed in the early days of his mission at Mecca. Just as Abû Bakr protected Mohammed from the Quraysh, he is made to do the same for Abû Dharr about the time of the latter's conversion. Although Abû Bakr was the man whom Mohammed loved best of all, Abû Dharr will be the nearest to Mohammed in Paradise.

Thus we may, nay, must say that the characterisation of Abû Dharr offers, besides the emphasis laid on his association with Mohammed, one of the most important lineaments of the image of Abû Dharr, namely that he acted, behaved himself, was in fact generally a man of Abû Dharr's ilk. He stood for Abû Bakr's communistic distribution of state revenues in equal shares to all Muslims. He reproached his opponents that they did not act as Abû Bakr and 'Umar. How easily therefore might one now suppose that these two men, both contemporaries of Mohammed, who in this so important matter were of one mind, were also in other ways chips from the same block—quite apart from the fact that for the formation of Abu Dharr's image the traditionists needed a model beyond all reproach in order to avoid the unpleasantness of destructive criticism. And thus it is no wonder that these two paragons of virtue are portrayed as having certain points in

common. On the contrary, for the traditional image of Abû Dharr, this could only be an advantage. We recognise therefore here again a certain endeavour to introduce as far as possible no innovation into the thought of Islam which must reject all that which was not shaped according to the pattern approved by the ancients. The details now to be discussed are so clearly recognisable in their parallel nature, that even the emphasis laid on Abû Dharr's truthfulness makes one think straight away of Abû Bakr's nickname—*al-ṣiddīq*—which is capable of translation as 'the truthful one', although there are some that maintain that it must mean 'the believer'. Or do we fail to understand the language of the traditionists if we think that we hear from them that Abû Dharr, the most upright of all men, whom speaking the truth left not a single friend in the world, would have had a claim to this soubriquet, if Mohammed had not already given it to an other and greater of his associates? This language becomes clearer, to be sure, in the description of certain events. For instance, when Abû Dharr utters obscenities to Meccan idolaters, women, who in the light of the full moon, being naked, circumabulate their idols *Isâf* and *Nâ'ilah*, causing them to flee in confusion. Thus he does that which Abû Bakr did when the latter hurled obscenities at the head of an Arab, one of the *Thaḳîf*, worshippers of the goddess *al-Lât*. Abû Dharr committed another act of gross rudeness, likewise sanctioned by his great model, when in Medina he turned a discussion with the caliph 'Uthmân into a brawl with *Ka'b al-aḥbâr*. He thrashed the Jew because the latter dared to interfere in a religio-political polemic discussion at high level by uttering an opinion that Abû Dharr did not share. In like manner Abû Bakr struck a Jew named *Phinehas* in the face in the synagogue at Medina because the latter had in Abû Bakr's view expressed himself in a blasphemous manner. It is not surprising that both these associates of Mohammed are set forth as mighty warriors, although this is not the only excellence ascribed to them. Unfortunately the records of the battles of Islam do not speak with much clarity on Abû Dharr's participation in them as a man of war, nevertheless one may accept as historical those accounts which make him present at the action at *Ḥunayn* in the lifetime of Mohammed, in Egypt under 'Umar and at *Amorium* and *Cyprus* under *Mu'âwiyah*. But what history lacks legend supplies, for did he not single-handed plunder the caravans of Mohammed's bitterest enemies, his own tribe the *Quraysh*, before the prophet himself defeated the same in the field?

Another point that attracts our attention is that the uncouth, rough

fellow that we have known in Abû Dharr breaks into tears at the memory of 'Alî in the presence of the latter's sons al-Hasan and al-Husayn. This story may well be the product of pious invention, if it be such, then it is an invention resting on the model of Abû Bakr, who according to the traditions concerning him always waxed lachrymose when he was deeply disturbed. Naturally one must not in this case dwell on this detail alone. If we knew no more of Abû Dharr than that he wept on one occasion we could not draw a parallel by means of it. But if we consider the entire image of both men, then just this episode would seem to have missed our attention, for now it is plainly shown to us that Abû Dharr was susceptible to the same emotions that moved Abû Bakr. If these accounts have not been concocted, then it is difficult to apprehend that the striking resemblance is merely fortuitous, and to some they will seem to be nothing but the expression of a clear tendency to shape the image of Abû Dharr after that of Abû Bakr, to which Abû Dharr's conflict with the secularists, once secured in history, gave the impulse, although our materials tell us nothing of Abû Dharr under Abû Bakr apart from the pro-'Alid account that makes the former refuse to pay allegiance to the latter and go over to 'Alî's side, which we regard as an invention intended to make Abû Dharr a member of the original faction of 'Alî.

'Umar

Ibn Sa'd (VIII, p. 91, 18f) produces a laconic tradition to the effect that Abû Dharr once sat fasting at the gate of the second caliph 'Umar, who on hearing of this, sent him something to eat. This may well be true, but we must bear in mind that the account lends both figures traits typical of the Muslim saint: generosity on the part of 'Umar, whose name, according to the tradition, is the greatest in early Islam after that of Mohammed and who has been praised by Muslim writers for his piety, justice and patriarchal simplicity, and treated as the personification of all the virtues that a caliph ought to possess ideally—and frugality on the part of the traditionally ascetic, world-renouncing Abû Dharr, whose image among the Nusayrî is that of a beggar.

'Umar was noted for his frugality, fasting and solitude—so was Abû Dharr.

While 'Umar gave the half of his possessions in alms, Abû Dharr is said to have given all his superfluous possessions to the poor and needy (as did also Abû Bakr).

'Umar feared that the believers would wax lukewarm when they heard

that the confession of God's unity gives admission to Paradise. A similar doctrine, that of the Khârijites, namely that the declaration of the tawhîd, that is that there is no god but God, and that Mohammed is His messenger, gives licence for theft and fornication, was said to be true in spite of Abû Dharr, who, accordingly, must have rejected this heresy.

'Alî

Before he came to Mohammed Abû Dharr is said to have been a lone marauder raiding the tribes and their herds of camels. After he had accepted Islam from Mohammed himself it is said that he raided single-handed the caravans of the Quraysh to compel them to become Muslims. In this one may detect the attempt to depict Abû Dharr as a mighty man of valour after the order of 'Alî of whom the most extravagant tales have been handed down.

The young 'Alî, then a foster-child in the household of Mohammed is said to have led Abû Dharr to Mohammed's hiding place during the period when he had to walk with the greatest circumspection because of the adversity of his powerful kinsmen the Quraysh. Thus an attempt is made to make Abû Dharr, together with 'Alî, one of the earliest converts to Islam.

When we read that 'Alî performed the ritual prayer seven years before the Muslim community did so we see a similarity with the report that Abû Dharr had been doing this for some three years before he met Mohammed and accepted his mission.

'Alî is named among those whom God commanded Mohammed to love—so is Abû Dharr.

While there is little doubt that 'Alî carried the banner at the action at Badr, A.H. 2, and before Khaybar, A.H. 7, the report that Abû Dharr was standard bearer at Hunayn, A.H. 8, is equivocal. But here we see yet again the tendency to liken Abû Dharr to 'Alî.

THE TRADITIONAL IMAGE OF ABÛ DHARR IN OILS

A picture painted at Lucknow in the late eighteenth century depicts Abû Dharr among other 'pillars of Islam'. This painting passed at Sotheby's on the 11th of December, 1956 (lot 48) to Quaritch.

That this image of Abû Dharr is as recent as the eighteenth century, does not necessarily make it *ipso facto* completely imaginative, for it may rest, as do certain other likenesses, on a long, strong tradition. On this point C. E. Dubler agreed with me, citing certain other similar cases.

Pictures of Companions of the Prophet are to be found in Arnold's *Painting in Islam*, pl. XXII and in Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray's *Persian Miniature Painting*, Oxford, 1933, pl. XXXIV, also in *Orbis Pictus* No. 6, pl. 22—the one depicting Abû Dharr.

ABÛ DHARR THE TRADITIONIST

Abû 'l-Fidâ tells us that Mohammed was in the habit of entertaining some of his friends every evening at his own table, sending others to his chief disciples that they might learn from them, and that many of those who thus ate the prophet's bread or that of his closest followers became famous traditionists as Abû Hurayrah and Abû Dharr (Desvergers, p. 99). Abû Dharr's stature in Islam can be judged by the great number of traditions that rest on his authority as well as those that have been written concerning his person. But we must bear in mind that this stature stems from the importance that accrued to him by reason of his conflict with the secularists during the last year or so of his life.

We now present in outline the traditions collected by al-Balâdhurî, al-Bukhârî, al-Dhahabî, Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Iṣbahânî, al-Karmî and al-Ṭabarî. The student of tradition/ḥadîth may welcome the pagination of the accounts culled from Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî that has been put together by examining every line of the four volumes of Krehl and Juynboll, there being no index. We hope that this collection of traditions may to some extent supply the need for a handbook of Muslim tradition with especial reference to Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî.

The prophet is said to have loved Abû Dharr, to have missed him whenever he was absent, to have shaken hands with him whenever he met him, to have taken him for a ride on the back of his donkey and to have celebrated the ritual prayer with him during Ramaḍan, the month of fasting. The traditions according to which Mohammed advised Abû Dharr not to act as an arbitrator between two parties; to be obedient to the powers that be; to feed and clothe his servants and told him that the recitation of the tawḥîd is the best of good works and that God had not told even the angels which word He likes best are similar to the pronouncement stories of the New Testament. They probably belong to the sea of oral tradition which arose in early Islam accordingly as, with the passing of time after the demise of the prophet, one problem arose after another and pronouncements on these had to be based on the Koran, the prophet or on the utterance of some close companion of

Mohammed's. Thus it is that a great number of such pronouncement stories are carried back to Abû Dharr as the main traditionist in each chain of authorities attaching to each pronouncement. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal reproduces two hundred and eighty one such stories based on Abû Dharr treating of: the forsaking of the community; the dyeing of the beard with henna and katam; branding as the punishment for hoarding superfluous goods; fasting; fear of God; the prayer of a horse for its master; hospitality; the laying out of one's substance for God's purposes; Mohammed's morning and evening prayers; the first mosque; Islam a cloak for fornication and theft; Ramaḍân; riches; alms; the performance of the ritual prayer/ṣalât; the resting place of the sun; the fairest deed; ablutions without water; the types whom God loves and the types whom He hates; the Devil; forgiveness; God judges the animals; a yoke of cattle gain access for their donor to Paradise.¹

al-Bukhârî² has a collection of some thirty such stories based on Abû Dharr and dealing with pronouncements on: the washing of Mohammed's breast; the combination of the mid-day and the evening ritual prayer on the march to Tabûk; Islam a cloak for fornication and theft; masters must feed and clothe their servants; the course of the sun; the first mosque; Mohammed's vespers; the distribution of alms for the sake of God; pronouncements of a mufti; ablutions with sand; Paradise; the water of Hîjr; he who seduces another to folly is himself led astray; the fairest deed; the camel tax; the cattle tax; the similarity of the date-palm to the Muslim.

al-Ṭabarî³ mentions but a few pronouncement stories resting on Abû Dharr, namely on the subject of the sun; two genuflexions due to the mosque; Adam and Seth; Jîvmârt; Seth, Noah and Enoch; the scrolls which God has revealed; the prophets; the washing of Mohammed's breast; The story about Jîvmârt gives us a glimpse of Muslim cosmogony.

One of the pronouncement stories put into the mouth of Abû Dharr is worthy of attention. On the evening on which Mohammed is said to have told Abû Dharr that if he were to possess a heap of gold as great as Mount Uḫud he would dispose of it all in charity, Mohammed is said to have told Abû Dharr that the archangel Gabriel himself had told him that whosoever declares that there is no god but God and dies in this

¹ Musnad ibn Ḥanbal, V, *passim*.

² Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî, I, 313; II, 83; IV, 82; 177; 217; 477.

³ Ta'ṛîkh al-rusul wa 'l-mulûk, *passim*.

belief will get to Heaven. On hearing this Abû Dharr is said to have remarked: "Even if he should have been a fornicator and a thief?" This question and the affirmative answer are repeated three times. On the fourth occasion Mohammed is said to have added: "In spite of Abû Dharr."¹ Thus this Kharijite doctrine is put into the mouth of Gabriel himself. In view of the fulminating revelations that the messenger of God uttered against the immoral and the criminal one need not even ask whether he ever countenanced such a doctrine. Since Abû Dharr is typified as having spent his life eschewing the world and its vanities we cannot ascribe to him the doctrine that mere intellectual assent to Islam gives licence for fornication and stealing. This is an example of the practice of putting into the mouth of great personalities doctrines for which support was sought. But this tradition tacitly testifies to Abû Dharr's typus as a moral pillar of ancient Islam—although it is a tendentious distortion of a pronouncement story based on Abû Dharr, that Mohammed said that the fairest deed that one can do is to recite the tawhîd: "There is no god but God and Mohammed is His messenger", for there is nothing in the Koran to support the heresy that orthodoxy gives licence for sin.

*Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal,*² X, A.H. 855

1. 144, 16 Abû Dharr accompanied Mohammed on a journey.
2. 20 Ditto.
3. 22 Mohammed advised Abû Dharr to be obedient.
4. 145, 1 The black prayer leader at al-Rabadhah.
5. 2 Mohammed said: Two are better than one.
6. 5 Mohammed said: If one loves his companion he is to visit him and explain to him that God loves him. cf. p. 173, 10.
7. 8 'Umar ibn al-Khattâb asked Abû Dharr to pray for him.
8. 13 Hypocrites and seductive prayer leaders caused Mohammed concern.
9. 15 Ditto.
10. 18 There is neither might nor power except in God.
11. 20 Mohammed said: I have made the earth a mosque for myself.

¹ Şaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî, IV, 82; Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal, V, 166, 9–15. cf. Dr Martin Luther's *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. 53. Band, Weimar, 1920, p. 310, also Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge, 1932, p. 46.

² Vol. 5, pp. 144–181.

12. 25 The resting place of the sun.
13. 29 He who fasts three days, has fasted the whole month.
14. 146, 2 The eye.
15. 4 The fairest deed. cf. p. 169, 14; p. 171, 12.
16. 7 Ablutions with sand.
17. 9 Ditto.
18. 147, 2 Ritual prayer.
19. 5 Dyeing the beard with henna and katm.
20. 7 Ritual prayer.
21. 11 Abû Dharr was the fourth or fifth Muslim.
22. 18 Blessed is he that has purified his heart for the faith. cf. Koran, 23, 1–12.
23. 147, 21 Belief in one God covers fornication and stealing. cf. 23; 123; 141; 142; 173; 271. Bu, II, 83; IV, 82; 177; 217, 12; 218, 6; 477, 6.
24. 24 Ramaḍân. cf. 128; 206.
25. 26 Mohammed saw his Lord.
26. 29 Mohammed said: I purified the earth and made a mosque of it. cf. 11.
27. 148, 8 Ditto.
28. 148, 9 Mohammed said: He who prostrates himself before God: to him God imputes a good work and exalts him one degree. cf. 159.
29. 15 The types whom God hates. cf. 51; 67; 68; 69; 113; 115; 117; 143; 237.
30. 18 Mohammed's birth.
31. 25 Mohammed said: The fairest word is: subḥân Allah wa biḥamdihi.
32. 27 Mohammed said: If my servant came to me with a burden of sin as great as the earth I should go forth to meet him with its equal in forgiveness.
33. 29 Mohammed would have given away in charity a pile of gold as great as Mount Uḥud.
34. 149, 2 The shortening of the ritual prayer.¹ Satan is a black dog. cf. 34; 53; 88; 132; 138; 162.
35. 5 Mohammed commanded the punctual performance of the ritual prayer. cf. 35; 99; 152. Supererogation.
36. 8 Mohammed took Abû Dharr as his pillion rider.

¹ Abû Dharr is placed among those notables who reportedly shortened the ritual prayer to avoid temptation.

37. 15 Mohammed bade Abû Dharr to prepare enough also for his neighbours whenever he made a meal. cf. 91.
38. 17 The vessels of Paradise.
39. 149, 21 Mohammed spent the night praying for his community. Supererogation. cf. 35.
40. 149, 25 see 33; 58; 133; 134; 239; cf. 121; 275.
41. 29 see 18; 20; 43; 126; 127; 159; 169; 197; 202; 203; 208; 210; 215; 217; 240; 259; 262.
42. 150, 2 see 15; 194; 207.
43. 6 see 41.
44. 9 The first mosque. cf. 93; 130.
45. 12 Fasting. cf. 34; 46; 53; 75; 76; 259.
46. 14 see 45.
47. 16 see 10; 57; 60; 97; 104; 211; 219.
48. 18 see 19; 73.
49. 20 see 48.
50. 22 Abû Dharr said: "May God forgive thee that which has been done" to one who had buried daughters in pre-islamic times.
51. 151, 5 see 29.
52. 13 Pardon for Muslim couples who have lost three of their children. cf. 69; 122; 160.
53. 18 Ritual prayer. cf. 18; 20; 41. Any black dog is Satan. cf. 34.
54. 22 The two last verses of Surah II.
55. 24 Ditto.
56. 27 Ditto.
57. 29 see 10; 47; 57; 60; 97; 104; 211; 219. Hospitality. cf. 37; 91.
58. 152, 1 see 33.
59. 10 Mohammed said: "When one is moved to wrath let him sit down; and when his wrath is gone let him lie down."
60. 14 see 10.
61. 152, 16 see 13.
62. 18 Cattle tax. cf. 110; 198.
63. 24 see 12.
64. 29 Mohammed said: "I wish my community found no pleasure in gold." cf. 80.
65. 153, 2 Mohammed said to Abu Dharr: "Fear God wherever thou art."

66. 5 The three types that God loves and the three types that he hates.
67. 11 Ditto.
68. 16 Ditto.
69. 18 Mohammed said to Abû Dharr: that two yoke of cattle suffice to gain the favour of Paradise. cf. 122.
70. 21 The inhabitants of a house must keep its windows veiled and its door locked. cf. 278.
71. 24 Supererogation. cf. 35; 39.
Belief in one God,—see 23.
72. 28 After Mohammed's death Abû Dharr constantly had him in remembrance.
73. 154, 1 see 19; 48; 49.
74. 2 Şadaqah, see 176; 179; 180; 181; 182; 189; 191; 253; 255; 259; 263.
75. 7 see 45.
76. 10 Ditto.
77. 12 Mohammed's morning and evening prayers.
78. 15 Forgiveness for God's servants.
79. 23 Ditto.
80. 28 see 64.
81. 155, 1 Ablutions,—see 274; 275.
82. 5 Mohammed said: "Now are the learned many but the preachers few. But the days approach when the learned shall be few but the preachers many."
83. 8 Abû Dharr's demise.
84. 15 Ditto.
Mohammed said: "He who approaches God by a handbreadth God approaches him by the length of an arm. And he who approaches God one ell God approaches him two ells. And he who approaches God walking God approaches him running."
85. 18 Him who lies with a slave-girl whom he never saw lying with a man God will smite with a scourge of fire on the day of resurrection.
86. 20 By reason of the heat on the march against Tabûk the ritual prayer of noontide was performed together with that of eventide.
87. 24 see 23.
88. 27 see 34,—Any black dog is Satan.
89. 156, 1 Abû Dharr said: "I love God and His messenger."

90. 3 The good news of the believer. See 109. cf. 6.
 91. 6 see 37.
 92. 8 see 3; 136; 208; 258.
 93. 13 see 44.
 94. 17 He who hoards gold and silver is branded with the same.
 cf. 168; 187.
 95. 21 Mohammed prophesied one who would succeed him.
 96. 156, 24 see 19.
 97. 26 see 10.
 98. 27 Mohammed recited this during the night: "Thou punishest
 them because they are thy servants and thou forgivest
 them because thou art the almighty, the wise."
 99. 29 see 35.
 100. 157, 2 see 44.
 101. 2 see 44.
 102. 6 Mohammed saw his Lord.
 103. 8 Mohammed used to laugh with his mouth wide open.
 104. 12 see 10.
 105. 15 Mohammed said that on the day of resurrection the best
 will be a man covered in ashes.
 106. 19 The same subject.
 107. 21 The same subject.
 108. 24 Mohammed said the richest will be the poorest on the
 day of resurrection.
 109. 26 see 90; cf. 6.
 110. 28 Tax on camels and cattle. See 62; 198.
 111. 158, 2 see 88.
 112. 4 Mohammed commanded Abû Dharr to follow God
 wherever he might be. cf. 65.
 113. 7 see 29; 51; 66; 67; 68.
 114. 10 see 12.
 115. 12 see 29.
 116. 14 Mohammed said to Abû Dharr: "Thou art no better than
 a red man or a black one."
 117. 15 see 29.
 118. 158, 18 Mohammed commanded Abû Dharr to feed and clothe
 his servants.
 119. 21 Mohammed said: "God sent no prophet but one speaking
 the language of his people."

120. 22 Abû Dharr said to Mohammed: "The rich and the lazy take precedence over those who perform the ritual prayer and fast." Mohammed answered: "Thou hast overtaken him that was before thee."
121. 27 Mohammed said: "How few are the generous."
122. 159, 1 A gift of two yoke of cattle suffices to gain entrance into Paradise. cf. 69. Comfort for two Muslims losing three of their children. cf. 52; 160.
123. 8 see 23.
124. 10 Mohammed gave Abû Dharr seven commandments. cf. 224; 225.
125. 15 Abû Dharr's black wife at al-Rabadhah.
126. 20 see 18.
127. 23 see 18.
128. 25 see 24.
129. 160, 3 God's grace towards the sinner. cf. 78; 79; 84.
130. 11 see 44.
131. 15 see 35.
132. 20 see 88.
133. 24 see 33.
134. 28 see 33.
135. 161, 2 Mohammed gave Abû Dharr a list of things for which one is rewarded.
136. 5 see 3.
137. 161, 8 see 31.
138. 12 see 88.
139. 15 see 118.
140. 17 see 118.
141. 23 see 23; 29; 13,—three different subjects.
142. 27 see 13.
143. 162, 2 see 13.
144. 6 see 13.
145. 8 Rams that gore one another will be judged.
146. 12 see 72.
147. 14 see 72.
148. 14 see 86.
149. 18 The prayer of thanks of a horse. cf. 204.
150. 23 Mohammed's demise.
Mohammed used to shake hands with Abû Dharr.
151. 28 Ditto.

152. 163, 1 see 35; 35*b*; 36,—three different subjects.
 153. 163, 10 The scratching of the privities.
 154. 13 Abû Dharr fasted throughout Ramaḍân with Mohammed.
 155. 19 see 18.
 156. 21 see 15.
 157. 25 Celibacy tabooed.
 158. 164, 6 The Medinese ran away from Abû Dharr.
 159. 9 The fear of God is rewarded.
 160. 16 Paradise for two Muslims who lose three children. cf. 52; 122*b*.
 161. 20 A quarrel between Abû Dharr and his wife.
 162. 24 see 88.
 163. 27 Abû Dharr addressed the Banû Ghifâr.
 164. 165, 4 In the presence of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb Abû Dharr asked Ghadîf ibn al-Ḥarth to pray for him. cf. 249.
 165. 165, 8 Abû Dharr to be next to Mohammed on the day of resurrection.
 166. 11 see 12; 36,—two different subjects.
 167. 17 see 18.
 168. 25 Gold and silver brand their niggardly possessors till they are laid out for God's purposes. cf. 94; 187.
 169. 27 see 18.
 170. 166, 1 Mohammed loved Abû Dharr.
 Abû Dharr loved God and Mohammed.
 171. 4 see 23.
 172. 6 Groundless claims on fathers and property.
 173. 9 see 23.
 174. 15 Abû Dharr's death. cf. 83.
 175. 28 see 44.
 176. 167, 2 Ṣadaqah.
 177. 6 Abû Dharr threatened hoarders with branding.
 178. 11 The eye. v. 14.
 179. 13 Ṣadaqah and forgiveness.
 180. 17 see 176.
 181. 23 see 176.
 182. 24 see 176.
 183. 28 see 150.
 184. 168, 4 see 90.
 185. 6 see 35.
 186. 9 see 35.

187. 12 see 94.
 188. 14 see 29.
 189. 17 see 74.
 190. 23 see 118.
 191. 168, 26 see 74.
 192. 169, 6 see 177.
 Abû Dharr claimed to teach nothing that had not
 formerly been heard from Mohammed. Abû Dharr
 shortened the ritual prayer. cf. 34.
 193. 12 see 34*a*; 192*c*.
 194. 14 The declaration that there is no God but God and that
 Mohammed is His messenger is the best of all good
 works. cf. 15; 42; 207.
 195. 16 see 23.
 196. 20 see 19.
 197. 22 see 18.
 198. 26 see 62.
 199. 170, 2 When Mohammed laughed his molars separated. cf. 103.
 200. 6 On the day of resurrection the best will be a man dressed
 in rags. cf. 105.
 201. 11 Mohammed prophesied one who would succeed him.
 cf. 95.
 202. 13 see 18.
 203. 24 see 18.
 204. 25 The prayer of a horse. cf. 149.
 205. 29 see 102.
 206. 171, 3 The night of power.
 207. 12 see 15; 42;
 208. 15 see 3; 18, — two different subjects.
 209. 19 Mohammed said: "He who drinks wine,—God does not
 accept the ritual prayer from him."
 210. 23 Abû Dharr performed the ritual prayer with Mohammed.
 Bilâl.
 211. 171, 29 see 10.
 212. 172, 2 see 23.
 213. 6 see 23.
 214. 8 Bilâl the muezzin. cf. 210*b*.
 215. 11 see 18.
 216. 14 Mohammed gave Abû Dharr seven commandements. cf.
 224; 225.

217. 18 see 18.
218. 29 Rams that gore each other are brought into judgment.
cf. 145.
219. 173, 3 see 10.
220. 7 Mohammed refused Abû Dharr's application for an
emirship/imârah.
221. 10 see 6.
222. 12 see 118.
223. 15 Mohammed said: "If you knew what I know you would
laugh little and weep much."
224. 19 Mohammed gave Abû Dharr five commendments. cf.
124.
225. 24 Mohammed gave Abû Dharr three commandments. cf.
124; 224.
226. 27 Mohammed said: "One must not despise the Ma'rûf."
227. 29 The conquest of Egypt.
228. 174, 4 The same subject.
229. 5 God's grace towards the sinner. cf. 179; 230.
230. 8 see 229; 247.
231. 11 see 230.
232. 14 The conversion of Abû Dharr.
233. 175, 24 The same subject.
234. 25 see 102.
235. 175, 28 Abû Dharr's stipend.
236. 176, 3 Mohammed said that God had told not even the angels
which word is most agreeable to him.
237. 5 see 66.
238. 17 Mohammed prophesied apostates.
239. 20 see 33.
240. 22 see 86.
241. 27 see 158; 192; 168; 177.
242. 28 Mohammed's prayer for the Banû Ghifâr.
243. 177, 1 see 65.
244. 4 see 45.
245. 5 Mohammed repeated a surah throughout the night.
cf. 39; 98.
246. 7 see 81.
247. 10 see 229.
248. 18 see 12.
249. 22 see 164.

250. 26 see 12.
 251. 28 see 29.
 252. 178, 1 Stoning.
 253. 3 The ritual prayer; fasting; ṣadaqah.
 254. 11 Mohammed said: "I wished my community would not wear gold." cf. 64; 80.
 255. 14 see 74.
 256. 20 Mohammed examined the good works of his community.
 257. 23 see 256.
 258. 26 see 3.
 259. 179, 3 see 253.
 260. 15 see 252.
 261. 179, 20 Abû Muslim asked Abû Dharr about the most excellent watch of the night.
 262. 22 see 18.
 263. 26 see 74.
 264. 28 Mohammed said to Abû Dharr: "Wait until thou meetest me."
 265. 180, 3 see 264.
 266. 7 Mohammed said: "He who abandons the community if only by a span has already removed the collar of Islam from off his neck." cf. 238.
 267. 9 see 266.
 268. 11 see 266.
 269. 12 Mohammed said to Abû Dharr: "Thou must not administer the property of an orphan of Dhahabi nor have authority over two." *Siyar* II 54, 11; *Ta'rikh* III 15.
 270. 15 see 12.
 271. 17 see 23.
 272. 19 see 24.
 273. 23 see 256.
 274. 27 see 81.
 275. 29 see 81.
 276. 181, 4 see 108.
 277. 9 He who leads another astray is himself led astray.
 278. 11 see 70.
 279. 15 see 65.
 280. 18 see 65.
 281. 21 Abû 'l-aswad al-daylî said: "I saw the companions of the prophet. But I did not find Abû Dharr to be like them."

- Abû Dharr's conversion, 232; 233, cf. 21.
- 'Umar ibn al-Khattâb asked Abû Dharr to pray for him, 7.
- Abû Dharr asked Ghadîf ibn al-Harth to pray for him, 164.
- Abû Dharr asked Mohammed whether he had seen his Lord, 25.
- Abû Dharr rode pillion on Mohammed's ass, 36; 152.
- Abû Dharr celebrated Ramaḍân with Mohammed, 154.
- Abû Dharr performed the ritual prayer with Mohammed, 24.
- Abû Dharr shortened the ritual prayer, 34; 192; 193.
- Abû Dharr taught nothing that Mohammed had not taught, 192; 193.
- Abû Dharr addressed his tribe, 163.
- Abû Dharr's stipend, 235.
- Abû Dharr's black wife at al-Rabadhah, 125.
- Abû Dharr once quarrelled with his wife, 161.
- Abû Dharr's demise, 83; 174.
- Abû Dharr in the view of Abû 'l-aswad al-daylî, 281.
- Mohammed loved Abû Dharr, 170.
- Mohammed used to shake hands with Abû Dharr, 150; 183.
- Mohammed commanded Abû Dharr to feed and clothe his servants, 118; 139; 140; 190.
- Mohammed gave Abû Dharr seven commandments, 124; 216.
- Mohammed gave Abû Dharr five commandments, 224.
- Mohammed gave Abû Dharr three commandments, 225.
- Mohammed advised Abû Dharr not to act as an arbiter, 124.
- Mohammed advised Abû Dharr to be obedient, 3; 92; 136; 208; 258.
- Mohammed told Abû Dharr that the declaration of the tawhîd is the best of all good works, 194;
- that on the day of resurrection the best will be a man clothed in rags, 200;
- that on the day of resurrection the richest will be the poorest, 276;
- that on the day of resurrection the best will be a man covered in ashes, 105; 106; 107;
- that Abû Dharr will be next to him (Mohammed) on the day of resurrection, 165;
- that God had told not even the angels which word was most agreeable to him, 236.
- Mohammed refused Abû Dharr's request for a post of authority/imârah, 220.
- Mohammed told Abû Dharr that he was not better than a red man or a black one, 116.

The following tradition has been translated in full in view of its interest to the student of religions.

Abû Dharr the Traditionist

Musnad Ahmad b. Hanbal, X A.D. 855, V. p. 160, 3f cf. s. 154, 15f.

According to Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî the Prophet declared, that God had said: "O my servants, I forego injustice, so I command you also to forego it. Be not, therefore, unjust to one another.

O my servants, each of you is gone astray, except the one that I lead in the right path; ask me, therefore, to lead you, and I will lead you.

O my servants, each of you is hungry, except the one that I feed. Ask me, then, to feed you, and I shall feed you.

O my servants, each of you is naked, except the one that I clothe. Ask me, then, and I shall clothe you.

O my servants, ye sin day and night, and I pardon all your sins. Ask me, then, to forgive you, and I shall forgive you.

O my servants, in vain would ye strive to harm me, and in vain to help me.

O my servants, if ye were, from first to last, man or jinn, as pious as the purest in heart among you, that would add nothing to my kingdom.

O my servants, if ye were, from first to last, man or jinn, as perverse as the most perverse in heart among you, that would in no wise diminish my kingdom.

O my servants, if from first to last, man or jinn, ye all stood in a single region of the earth to ask my favours, and if I granted each of you his prayer, that would in no wise diminish my qualities, any more than a needle falling into the ocean taketh anything whatsoever therefrom.

O my servants, I shall take account of nothing but your works. And according to these alone shall I reward you. Let him, therefore, that findeth prosperity render thanks unto God, and let him that findeth anything else blame none other than himself."

MUSNAD AḤMAD IBN ḤANBAL

Index of Subjects

- Ablutions, 16; 17; 81; 274; 275.
- Animals
- Dogs. The Devil assumes the form of a black dog, 34; 53; 88; 111; 132; 138; 162.
 - Horses pray, 149; 204.
 - Oxen. Two yoke of oxen for access to Paradise, 69; 122.
 - Rams that gore one another to be judged, 145; 218.
 - Tax on domestic animals, 62; 110; 198.
- Apostasy, 238.
- Beards not to be dyed, 19; 48; 49; 73.
- Belief in one God covers a multitude of sins, 23; 87; 123; 141; 142; 173; 271.
- Burying of daughters, 50.
- Celibacy tabu, 157.
- Claims on property, 172.
- Doors and windows, 70; 278.
- Deeds, good, 226.
- Doctrine of Abū Dharr not an innovation, 192.
- Eye, 14; 178.
- Fasting, 24; 45; 46; 53; 75; 76; 128.
- Fear of God, 159.
- Forgiveness, 52; 78; 79; 122; 129; 160; 179; 229; 230; 231; 247.
- Gold: to be distributed in charity, 33; 40; 58; 133; 134; 239; cf. 121.
not to be worn, 64; 80.
- Grace, 78; 79; 129.
- Hoarding to be punished, 94; 168; 187.
- Hospitality, 37; 91.
- Lying with slave girls, 85.
- Mohammed's laughter, 103; 199; matins and vespers, 77; successor, 95.
- Might and power of God, 10; 47; 57; 60; 97; 104; 211; 219.
- News, good, of believer, 90; 109; cf. 6.
- Night of power, 207.
- Prayer, ritual, 18; 20; 35; 41; 43; 99; 126; 127; 152; 159; 169; 197; 202; 203; 208; 209; 210; 215; 240; 259; 262.
- Preachers and scholars, 82.
- Privities, scratching of, 153; p. 163, 10; cf. Ḥilyat al-awliyā', p. 169, 10.
- Resurrection, 105; 106; 107; 200; 276.
- Ṣadaqah, 74; 176; 180; 181; 182; 191; 253; 255; 259; 263.
- Sun, 12; 63; 114; 166; 248; 250; 270.
- Supererogation, 35; 39; 71.
- Wine, 209.
- Word, the fairest, 31; 137; 236; cf. 194.
- Wrath, 59.

TRADITIONS ABOUT ABU DHARR

Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī

A.D. 870

Traditions ascribed to Abû Dharr

1. Ablutions with sand. I, 94.
2. The date-palm resembles the Muslim. I, 24.
3. Faith and jihâd are the fairest deeds. IV, 49.
4. Fornication and theft covered by Islamic monotheistic belief. II, 83.
5. Mohammed's evening prayers. IV, 191; 451.
6. The first mosque. II, 346; 364.
7. Mount Uḥud glittered like a heap of gold. II, 83.
8. The ritual prayer on the march to Tabûk. I, 144; 145; 165.
9. The prophets. I, 152.
10. The scrolls of scripture. I, 152; 528.
11. The sun's course. II, 304; III, 318; IV, 458.
12. Tax on camels. I, 367.
13. Tax on cattle. I, 370.
14. The washing of Mohammed's breast. I, 99; 411.
15. Whosoever leads another astray shall himself be led astray. IV, 123.

Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhârî

- I, 16 Abû Dharr insulted Bilâl and denigrated the reputation of his mother.
Mohammed commanded Abû Dharr to feed and clothe his servants.
- I, 24 The date palm resembles the Muslim. A.D.¹

¹On this page A.D. means that Abû Dharr is mentioned in the chain of authorities.

- I, 28 The commander of the faithful forbade Abû Dharr to pronounce a fatwâ. cf. I.S., Ilii, 112, 3.
- I, 94 Ablutions with sand/tayammum. A.D.
- I, 99 The washing of Mohammed's breast. A.D.
- I, 144 The midday ritual prayer was combined with that of the evening on the march against Badr. A.D.
- I, 145 The same subject, cf. I, 165 and WW, 394.
- I, 152 The scrolls of scripture. cf. I, 528. A.D.
- I, 181 Mohammed exhorted Abû Dharr to obedience.
- I, 313 Fornication and theft covered by Islamic belief in one God. cf. AbH, V, 23; 123; 141; 142; 173. A.D.
- I, 355 Conflict between al-Mu'âwiyah and Abû Dharr on the interpretation of Koran IX, 34. cf. al-Tabarî, Tafsîr X, 73 and I.S., IVi, 166, 15.
- I, 356 Abû Dharr threatened the hoarders of possessions with branding.
 Mohammed would have donated a heap of gold as great as Mount Uḥud. cf. al-Râzî III, 440; al-Ḳastallânî III, 11; AbH, V, 33; 40; 58; 133; 134; 239. cf. 121. A.D.
- I, 367 Tax on camels. cf. al-Dhahabî, Siyar II, 46, 15. A.D.
- I, 369 Tax on cattle and sheep. A.D. Ditto.
- I, 411 The washing of Mohammed's breast. A.D.
- I, 528 The scrolls of scripture. cf. I, 152. A.D.
- II, 83 see I, 356 and I, 313.
- II, 123 see I, 16.
- II, 304 The sun's course. A.D. cf. IV, 458.
- II, 318 see I, 144; 145; 165.
- II, 346 al-Ḥarâm was the first mosque. A.D.
- II, 349 The water miracle at Hîjr. cf. WW, 394. A.D.
- II, 364 see II, 346.
- II, 386 Abû Dharr's conversion according to Ibn 'Abbâs. cf. III, 23.
- III, 23 see II, 386.
- III, 250 see I, 355.
- III, 289 The duel at Badr. A.D. cf. I.S., Ilii, 10, 1.
- III, 318 see II, 304 and IV, 458.
- IV, 82 see II, 83.
- IV, 121 see II, 386.
- IV, 123 Whosoever leads another astray shall himself be led astray.
- IV, 124 see I, 16.
- IV, 177 see I, 356*b* and I, 313.

- IV, 191 Mohammed's evening prayers. cf. IV, 451.
 IV, 217 see I, 313.
 IV, 281 see IV, 177.
 IV, 451 see IV, 191.
 IV, 458 see II, 304.
 IV, 459 see II, 386.
 IV, 460 see II, 304.
 IV, 477 see I, 313.
 IV, 498 Faith and militancy/jihād for God's sake are the fairest deeds.

Sahih al-Bukhârî

Traditions about Abû Dharr

- II, 386, 20 Abû Dharr's conversion according to Ibn 'Abbâs. cf. III, 23, 6; IV, 121, 9; 459, 3.
 II, 123 Mohammed said to Abû Dharr: "Thou art one in whom jāhilīyah is still present." cf. IV, 124.
 I, 16 Abû Dharr abused Bilâl and denigrated the reputation of his mother. cf. II, 123; IV, 124.
 I, 16 Mohammed commanded Abû Dharr to feed and clothe his servants. cf. II, 123; IV, 124.
 I, 181 Mohammed exhorted Abû Dharr to obedience.
 I, 28 The commander of the faithful forbade Abû Dharr to pronounce a fatwâ.
 I, 355 Conflict between Muâwiyah and Abû Dharr on the interpretation of surah IX, 34. cf. III, 250.

Traditions resting on Abû Dharr

- I, 25 The date palm resembles the Muslim.
 I, 94 Ablutions with sand.
 I, 99 The washing of Mohammed's breast.
 I, 411 The same subject.
 I, 144 The midday ritual prayer was combined with that of the evening on the march against Badr. cf. I, 145; 165; II, 318 and WW, 394.
 I, 313 Fornication and theft covered by Islamic monotheistic belief. cf. II, 83; IV, 82; 177; 217; 218; 477 and AbĤ, V, 23; 123; 141; 142; 173.

- I, 356 Mohammed said that he would have given Mount Uḥud away in charity if it had consisted of gold. cf. II, 83; IV, 177; 218 and AbH, V, 33; 40; 58; 133; 134; 239. cf. 121.
- I, 367 Tax on camels.
- I, 369 Tax on cattle.
- II, 304 The course of the sun. cf. III, 318; IV, 458; 460.
- II, 346 The first mosque. cf. II, 364.
- II, 349 The miraculous water of Hijr.
- III, 298 The duel at Badr.
- IV, 123 Whosoever leadeth another astray is himself seduced.
- IV, 498 The fairest deed.

Hilyatu l-awliyâ

1. 156, 3 Abû Dharr performed the ritual prayer four years before Islam.
2. 156, 7 Abû Dharr performed the ritual prayer three years before he met Mohammed.
3. 157, 1 Abû Dharr was the fourth Muslim.
4. 157, 15 Abû Dharr's conversion according to Abû Laylî al-Ash'arî.
5. 158, 8 Abû Dharr's conversion according to Ibn 'Abbâs.
6. 158, 20 The same subject.
7. 159, 4 Abû Dharr's conversion according to Abdullah ibn al-Sâmit.
8. 159, 8 The same subject.
9. 159, 22 Mohammed gave Abû Dharr ten commandments, cf. 38.
10. 160, 3 'Umar forbade Abû Dharr to pronounce a fatwâ.
11. 160, 10 Abû Dharr begged leave of 'Uthmân to withdraw to al-Rabadhah.
12. 160, 16 Abû Dharr struck Ka'b al-aḥbâr in the matter of the fortune left behind by 'Abd al-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf.
13. 160, 20 Abû Dharr's black wife at al-Rabadhah.
14. 161, 1 Abû Dharr left no son behind.
Abû Dharr said that he preferred a wife that humbled him to one that exalted him.
15. 161, 11 Ḥabîb ibn Maslamah sent to Abû Dharr three hundred dinars which he refused.
16. 161, 16 Al-Ḥârith sent three hundred dinar to Abû Dharr.
17. 161, 22 Abû Dharr will be next to Mohammed on the day of resurrection.

18. 162, 3 Abû Dharr's moderation.
19. 162, 7 The same subject.
20. 162, 21 Gold and silver used parsimoniously are glowing coals for their possessors until they are expended on God's work.
21. 162, 25 Abû Dharr reproached Abû al-Dardâ, an ascetic and one of the collectors of the Koran, because he built himself a house.
22. 163, 3 Abû Dharr said: "One is born but to die; what one builds is demolished; one's superabundant goods are left behind at death."
23. 163, 10 Abû Dharr said: "Property has three proprietors."
24. 163, 17 Abû Dharr's moderation.
25. 164, 6 Abû Dharr said: "He who possesses two dirham has greater responsibility than he who possesses but one."
26. 164, 9 Abû Dharr said: "If ye knew what I know, ye would not delight yourselves in women."
27. 164, 13 Abû Dharr said: "He who striveth after Paradise, shall strive after his Lord."
28. 164, 16 Abû Dharr said: "Prayer is to piety as salt is to food."
29. 164, 19 Abû Dharr said: "Seest thou not that there is no kindness among most people?"
30. 164, 21 Abû Dharr's wife said: "Abû Dharr spent the whole day in meditation."
31. 165, 1 A certain man who saw Abû Dharr occupying a place said unto him: "What seekest thou?" He answered: "I seek a place to sleep. My soul is a sumpter beast. If I go not with it, it will not bring me to my destination."
32. 165, 4 Abû Dharr preached before the Ka'bah on moderation, fasting, the ritual prayer and so forth.
33. 165, 21 Mohammed recited this surah to Abû Dharr: "He who fears God—He prepares for him a way of escape."
34. 166, 3 The same subject.
35. 166, 8 Mohammed said to Abû Dharr: "Two genuflexions are due to the mosque."
36. 166, 13 Mohammed said to Abû Dharr: "The ritual prayer is the best place in which one magnifieth or diminisheth himself."
37. 166, 15 Abû Dharr asked Mohammed about:
the fairest deed;
the best of the believers;

the most upright of the believers;
 the most excellent of the Emigrants;
 the best ritual prayer;
 fasting;
 the best jihâd;
 the best slaves;
 the best ṣadaqah;
 the greatest surah that God revealed to Mohammed;
 the number of the prophets;
 the first prophet;
 the scrolls of scripture.

38. 168, 8 Mohammed gave Abû Dharr these commandments:
 1. to fear God;
 2. to read the Koran;
 3. to avoid much laughter;
 4. to hold his peace when there is nothing good to say;
 5. to perform jihâd;
 6. to love the poor and to consort with them;
 7. to have consideration for those under him and not for those above him;
 8. for God's sake not to fear abuse.
 9. to speak the truth even if it were bitter, cf. 9. 159, 22.
39. 169, 1 In answer to Abû Dharr's question whether God had revealed to him anything that could be found in the writings of Abraham and Moses Mohammed recited surah 87 from verse 15 to the end.
40. 169, 5 Abû Dharr asked Mohammed concerning:
 principles and details;
 belief and good works;
 the vision of his Lord;
 the word that is dearest to God;
 the night of power;
 the rubbing of the privities during the ritual prayer.
41. 169, 14 An old man said of Abû Dharr: "He avoided the world; went on to the end; embraced suffering till he attained unto God."
42. 169, 15 Abû Dharr's burial.
43. 169, 22 The same subject.

- Ili, 58, 1 al-Ghâbah, AbH, 6.
 Ili 119, 21 The march on Tabûk, AbH, 9, cf. Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî, II, 349; I, 144; I, 145; I, 165; II, 318.
 Ilii, 100, 12 'Umar consulted Abû Dharr concerning a Ḥadîth, AbH, 17. 'Umar kept Abû Dharr in Medina.
 Ilii, 106, 18 Abû Dharr stored much knowledge up, but could not apply it properly.
 Ilii, 112, 3 The same subject.
 Ilii, 112, 10 The commander of the faithful ('Uthmân) forbade Abû Dharr to pronounce a fatwâ. cf. al-Mas'ûdî, Murûj al-dhahab, IV, p. 268ff.
 Ilii, 112, 15 Abû Dharr's knowledge.
 Ilii, 10, 1 The duel at Badr, cf. Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî, III, 289.
 Ilii, 100, 22 Abû Dharr was not at Badr, Uḥud or al-Khandaq, cf. IVi, 166, 3; al-Dhahabî, Ta'rîkh, 111, 10.
 IVi, 14, 1 'Umar consulted Abû Dharr concerning a ḥadîth about the temple built by David. cf. Ilii, 100, 12.
 IVi, 161, 1 Abû Dharr's genealogy.
 IVi, 161, 9 Abû Dharr's conversion according to 'Abdullah b. al-Ṣâmit.
 IVi, 163, 6 Abû Dharr's conversion according to Khufâf b. Îmâ b. Raḥḍah.
 IVi, 163, 24 Abû Dharr's pre-islamic piety.
 Abû Dharr's conversion according to Najîḥ Abû Ma'shar.
 IVi, 164, 23 Abû Dharr was the fifth Muslim.
 IVi, 164, 26 Abû Dharr's conversion according to Ibn 'Abbâs.
 IVi, 165, 28 Abû Dharr's Bedouin manner did not leave him.
 IVi, 166, 23 Abû Dharr was not at Badr, Uḥud or al-Khandaq. cf. Ilii, 100, 22.
 IVi, 166, 8 Mohammed advised Abû Dharr to be obedient.
 IVi, 166, 13 A difference of opinion between Mu'âwiyah and Abû Dharr concerning the interpretation of surah, IX, 34.
 IVi, 166, 21 'Uthmân recalled Abû Dharr from Damascus to Medina.
 IVi, 167, 1 'Uthmân granted Abû Dharr's request to withdraw to al-Rabadhah.
 IVi, 167, 5 Abû Dharr refused in al-Rabadhah to lead a revolt against 'Uthmân. cf. Bal. Ansâb al-ashrâf, 56, 17.
 IVi, 167, 17 Abû Dharr withdrew in good spirits to al-Rabadhah.

- IVi, 167, 22 Mohammed took Abû Dharr as pillion rider on his ass. cf. *Siyar al-nubalâ'*, II, 44, 22; AbH, V, 149, 8; Houtsma, *al-Ya'kûbî*, II, 120, 1.
- IVi, 167, 24 Mohammed said: "Earth has not borne nor Heaven given shade to one more upright than Abû Dharr."
- IVi, 167, 28 The same subject.
Abû Dharr resembled Jesus in his submissiveness toward God/*tawâdu*⁶.
- IVi, 168, 3 The same subject.
Abû Dharr resembled Jesus in his asceticism.
- IVi, 168, 8 The same subject.
- IVi, 168, 11 The same subject.
- IVi, 168, 14 Mohammed promised Abû Dharr the place next to him on the day of resurrection.
- IVi, 168, 19 Mu'âwiyah forbade the inhabitants of Damascus to approach Abû Dharr.
- IVi, 168, 25 Mohammed gave Abû Dharr seven commandments. cf. *Ḥilyat al-awliyâ'*, 159, 22; 168, 8; AbH, V, 173, 19; 173, 24.
- IVi, 169, 3 Gold and silver used niggardly are glowing coals for their owner till he donates them on pious works.
- IVi, 169, 9 The same subject, cf. AbH, V, 156, 17; 165, 25.
- IVi, 169, 14 Abû Dharr advised al-Aḥnaf b. Qays concerning the acceptance or non-acceptance of money from the government. cf. AbH, V, 167, 6; 169, 6.
- IVi, 169, 15 Abû Dharr rejected the greeting of Abû Musâ' al-Ash'arî after he had become governor of Kufa but accepted that of Abû Hurayrah. cf. Tab., III, 2348.
- IVi, 169, 25 A description of Abû Dharr. cf. Tab., III, 2348.
- IVi, 169, 27 Abû Dharr expressed the confidence that he would see Jesus. cf. *Siyar al-nubalâ'*, II, 39, 20.
- IVi, 170, 2 Abû Dharr's black wife at al-Rabadhah.
- IVi, 170, 5 The same subject.
- IVi, 170, 8 Mohammed loved Abû Dharr. AbH, V, 166, 1; Dha, *Ta'rikh*, I 13, 2; *Siyar*, 42, 8-14.
- IVi, 170, 12 Mohammed refused Abû Dharr's application for an emirship/*imâra*. cf. *Siyar al-nubalâ'*, II, 40, 15.
- IVi, 170, 16 Abû Dharr's poverty.
- IVi, 170, 22 'Ali said: Except Abû Dharr there is no one left to-day who does not fear abuse.

- IVi, 170, 25 Abû Dharr's knowledge. cf. Ilii, 106, 18.
 IVi, 171, 4 Abû Dharr withdrew of his own free will to al-Rabadhah.
 The black prayer leader at al-Rabadhah.
 IVi, 171, 15 Abû Dharr's death and burial.
 IVi, 172, 7 The same subject.
 IVi, 173, 2 The same subject.
 IVi, 173, 21 Abû Dharr's hospitality.
 IVi, 174, 3 Abû Dharr lived in a tent in Damascus with Abû 'l-Dardâ.
 IVi, 174, 4 Abû Dharr's black wife at al-Rabadhah.
 IVi, 174, 8 Abû Dharr said: The truth has not left me a single friend.
 cf. Ansâb al-ashrâf, 54, 10; 55, 7; Amthâl Maydânî, 55.
 Abû Dharr's black wife.
 IVi, 174, 15 Abû Dharr performed the ritual prayer in the saddle.
 cf. al-Dhahabî, Ta'rîkh, 115, 7.
 IVi, 174, 21 Mohammed commanded Abû Dharr feed and clothe his
 servants.
 IVi, 174, 26 Abû Dharr douched himself on leaving the privy.

Ibn Ḳutaybah, X, A.D. 889—Kitâb al-ma'ârif

Abû Dharr's various names.

Abû Dharr was converted in Mecca.

He did not fight at Badr, Uḥud or al-Khandak, because he returned after his conversion to his tribe, and remained there until these battles had been fought.

Then he came to the Messenger of God at Medina.

'Uthmân banished him to al-Rabadhah, where he died, A.H. 32.

He left no progeny.

His nephew was 'Abdullah b. al-Ṣâmit, whose nickname was Abû Naḍr.

al-Balâdhurî—Ansâb al-ashrâf

52, 6 Abû Dharr preached from surah, IX, 34 against 'Uthmân in Medina. Marwân b. al-Ḥakam told 'Uthmân of this.

52, 15 Abû Dharr quarrelled with Ka'b al-aḥbâr before 'Uthmân. Abû Dharr begged leave of 'Uthmân to remove to Damascus. This 'Uthmân granted.

When the buildings reach Mt. Sal', then flee! cf. I.S., IVi, 166, 21; Tab., I, 2860.

- 53, 1 Abû Dharr criticised Mu'âwiyah in Damascus and refused his gifts of money.
- 53, 6 Abû Dharr criticised Mu'âwiyah's building of the palace called al-Khaḍrâ'.
- 53, 10 Ḥabīb b. Maslamah informed Mu'âwiyah that Abû Dharr was inciting the populace of Damascus against him.
'Uthmân caused Mu'âwiyah to have Abû Dharr set upon a mount with an uncomfortable gait and chased to Medina.
- 53, 13 'Uthmân sent Abû Dharr to al-Rabadhah.
- 53, 14 Abû Dharr refused 'Uthmân's request that he should stay with him and begged leave to remove to al-Rabadhah. This 'Uthman granted. cf. I.S., IVi, 167.
- 53, 21 Abû Dharr refused in al-Rabadhah gifts offered by Ḥabīb b. Maslamah. cf. Ḥilyat al-awliyâ', 161, 11.
Ḥabīb b. Maslamah asked Abû Dharr what had brought him to al-Rabadhah. To this he replied: My soul saw here that which is best for me.
- 54, 2 'Uthmân rejected the accusation that he had banished Abû Dharr to al-Rabadhah and praised him.
- 54, 7 Kumayl b. Ziyâdah said: I was in Medina when 'Uthmân sent Abû Dharr to Syria and I was there when he sent him to al-Rabadhah.
- 54, 10 Ḳatâdah said: 'Uthmân called Abû Dharr a liar. Thereupon Abû Dharr quoted Mohammed's saying: Earth has not borne nor Heaven given shade to one more upright than Abû Dharr. 'Uthmân sent Abû Dharr to al-Rabadhah. Abû Dharr said: The truth has not left me a single friend. cf. 55, 7; I.S., IVi, 174, 8; Amthâl Maydânî, 55.
- 54, 15 Marân b. al-Ḥakam quarrelled with 'Alî because he accompanied Abû Dharr on the way to al-Rabadhah. cf. al-Ya'qûbî; al-Mas'ûdî and Mohammed al-Karmî.
- 54, 19 'Alî and the Emigrants rebuke 'Uthmân because of his banishing Abû Dharr. 'Uthmân intended to banish 'Ammâr b. Yâsir also.
- 55, 6 Abû Dharr said in al-Rabadhah: The truth has not left me a single friend. cf. 54, 10; I.S., IVi, 174, 8.
- 55, 9 Abû Dharr said in al-Rabadhah that his advice to Mu'âwiyah had made him settle there.
- 55, 11 Abû Dharr said in al-Rabadhah that he had been sent thither against his will. The reverse is maintained by Sa'îd b. al-Musayyib.

- 55, 18 Abû Dharr was buried in al-Rabadhah by: 'Abdullah b. Mas'ûd; al-Ushtar; Jurayr b. 'Abdullah al-Dajalî A.H. 31.
 56, 4 The burial of Abû Dharr.
 56, 11 Jurayr b. 'Abdullah buried Abû Dharr in al-Rabadhah.
 56, 17 Abû Dharr rejected rebels against 'Uthmân. cf. I.S., IVi, 167, 5.

al-Ṭabarî—Ta'rikh al-rusul wa 'l-mulûk

Traditions ascribed to Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî

- I, 61 Ḥadîth about the sun.
 I, 152 Two genuflexions due to the mosque.
 I, 152 Ḥadîth about Adam and Seth.
 I, 153 Ḥadîth about Jîvmârt.
 I, 174 Ḥadîth about Seth, Noah and Enoch.
 I, 350 Ḥadîth about the scrolls that God revealed.
 I, 528 Ḥadîth about the prophets.
 I, 1154 Ḥadîth about the cleansing of Mohammed's breast.
 I, 1155 Abû Dharr's Conversion.
 I, 1168 The same subject.
 I, 1168 The march against Tabûk A.H. 9.
 I, 2737 Amorion A.H. 23; fî mâ dhukira.
 I, 2798 Amorion A.H. 23, without the formula: fî mâ dhukira.
 I, 2820 Cyprus A.H. 27, fî mâ dhukira.
 I, 2858 Mu'âwiyah evicts Abû Dharr from Damascus A.H. 30.
 I, 2860 Abû Dharr begged leave of 'Uthmân to withdraw because Mohammed had said to him: When the buildings reach Mt. Sal', then depart therefrom. cf. I.S., IVi, 166, 21. Bal. Ansâb, 52, 15.
 I, 2861 On a visit to Medina after his withdrawal to al-Rabadhah Abû Dharr struck Ka'b al-aḥbâr in a quarrel over the poor-rate/zakât. cf. Zotenberg, III, 567; Usd. III, 89; Murûj, IV, 268; Ḥilyat al-awliyâ', 160, 16.
 I, 2861 On the way to al-Rabadhah Mu'âwiyah had Abû Dharr searched to see how much money he had. cf. I.S., IVi, 166, 25.
 The black prayer leader at al-Rabadhah.
 I, 2861 Abû Dharr's allotment from public funds at al-Rabadhah.
 I, 2861 Abû Dharr's slaves, sheep and camels at al-Rabadhah.

- I, 2861 al-Ṭabarī says: As for the others, they have written many things . . . many shameful things which I hesitate to mention. I. Leiden, 1879–1901.
- I, 2895 Abû Dharr died in the month of pilgrimage in the eighth year of ‘Uthmân’s caliphate, i.e. A.H. 31.
‘Uthmân received Abû Dharr’s daughter into his family. cf. I.S., IVi, 174, 18; Siyar al-nubalâ’, 54.
- I, 2896 The same subject.
- III, 2329 The conversion of Ḥuwayṭib b. ‘Abdul‘uzzâ.
- III, 2347 Abû Dharr’s genealogy. He was the fifth Muslim.
- III, 2348 Abû Dharr was not at Badr, Uḥud or al-Khandaq.
- III, 2348 Abû Dharr refused the greeting of Musâ b. al-Ash‘arî.
A description of Abû Dharr.
- III, 2371 Mohammed loved Abû Dharr at God’s behest. I.S., IV, 170, 8; AbH, V, 166, 1; Dha. Ta., 113, 2; Dha Sijar, 42, 8–14.
- III, 2393 Mohammed prophesied backsliders in his tribe, cf. Siyar a’lâm al-nubalâ’, II, 51, 8–10.

‘Abd al-Barr, X, A.D. 1071–Kitâb al-istî‘âb

His name.

He lived alone, died alone and was raised alone.

Mohammed said that he resembled Jesus, the son of Mary, in his asceticism.

It was said: “He, whom it would please to see the humility of Jesus, the son of Mary, should look upon Abû Dharr.”

Mohammed said: “Heaven hath not given shade to nor earth borne one more upright than Abû Dharr.”

He had many names and genealogies.

He was the fifth Muslim.

He returned to his tribe after his conversion and stayed there until he went to the Prophet.

He enjoyed a good reputation concerning his conduct in Islam.

He sent his brother Unays to Mecca to obtain information about Mohammed. Not satisfied with his information he went himself to the Prophet.

‘Alî led him to the Prophet in Medina.

Mohammed sent him back to his tribe.

al-'Abbas rescued him from the idolaters of Mecca, who were thrashing him.

He died A.H. 31 or A.H. 32 at al-Rabadhah.

'Alî said that Abû Dharr collected ḥadīth without applying these to anything.

Mohammed said that Abû Dharr resembled Jesus, the son of Mary in his asceticism.

Abû Dharr said that after Mohammed's demise no bird flapped its wings without our thinking of him.

Ibn Mas'ūd said that he among a troop of fourteen riders had washed, shrouded and buried Abû Dharr.

Mohammed said: "Heaven hath not given shade to nor earth borne one more truthful than Abû Dharr."

Ibn al-Athîr, X, A.D. 1234—Usd al-ghâbah, I, 301

His genealogy.

His early conversion.

He was the fourth or fifth Muslim.

He had many names and genealogies.

He was the first to greet Mohammed with the greeting of Islam.

He returned to his tribe after his conversion.

He went to Mohammed at Medina after the battles of Badr, Uḥud and al-Khandaḡ had been fought.

He consorted with Mohammed until the latter died.

He had worshipped the one true God three years before Mohammed's mission.

Mohammed commanded him to endure abuse for God's sake and to speak the truth, even if this had bitter consequences.

Mohammed said: "Heaven hath not given shade to nor earth borne one more truthful than Abû Dharr."

Mohammed said: "He (Abû Dharr) walks the earth in the asceticism of Jesus, the son of Mary."

On Abû Bakr's death (A.H. 13) he went to Damascus and stayed there till the caliphate of 'Uthmân (A.H. 23–35).

'Uthmân sent him to al-Rabadhah, where he stayed till he died.

His burial.

A description of his person.

al-Dhahabî, X, A.D. 1348–Tadhkirat al-huffâz, Vol. I, iv

His name.

He was one of the earliest Muslims.

He was the fifth Muslim.

After his conversion he returned to his tribe.

Later he went to Medina.

He was distinguished by reason of his knowledge (of ḥadīth), his asceticism, jihād, truthfulness and faithfulness.

A description of his person.

He did not fight at Badr.

He was equal to Ibn Mas‘ūd in his knowledge (of ḥadīth).

His stipend amounted to four thousand dirham per annum.

He amassed no wealth.

He spoke the truth openly, even if this had bitter consequences.

Heaven hath not given shade to nor earth borne one more truthful than Abû Dharr.

Mohammed commanded him to amass no wealth.

He spoke the truth openly.

The commander of the faithful (‘Uthmân) forbade him to pronounce a fatwâ.

He was banished to al-Rabadhah, where he died, A.H. 32.

al-Dhahabî–Siyar a‘lâm al-mubalâ, Vol. II

Page 31

1–9 Abû Dharr’s name.

10–11 He was one of the first converts to Islam.

11–14 After his conversion he returned to his tribe.

15 He pronounced fatwâ.

16–19 A list of those who carried ḥadīth about Abû Dharr.

Page 32

1–9 The same subject.

11–14 A description of Abû Dharr.

15 He was present at the taking of Mecca A.H. 8.

15–23 God forgives His servants.

Page 33

- 1–10 The same subject.
- 11–13 Abû Dharr lived in a tent with Abû 'l-Dardâ in Damascus.
- 14–15 Abû Dharr's name was Yazîd.
- 16–17 Abû Dharr's name was Burayr.
- 18–21 A description of Abû Dharr. (cf. 32, 11 and Tab., III, 2348).

Page 34

- 1–4 The same subject.
- 5–19 Abû Dharr's conversion according to 'Abdullah b. al-Şâmit.

Page 35

- 1–21 The same subject.

Page 36

- 1–20 The same subject.
- 21–23 Abû Dharr's conversion according to Ibn 'Abbâs, Mohammed's cousin.

Page 37

- 1–24 The same subject.

Page 38

- 1–16 Abû Dharr's conversion according to Khufâf b. Îmâ.
- 17–18 Abû Dharr was the fourth Muslim.
- 19–20 The standard bearer at Hunayn.
- 21 The straggler on the march to Tabûk.

Page 39

- 1–10 The same subject.
- 11–19 Abû Dharr's death at al-Rabadhah.
- 20 Abû Dharr expressed the confidence that he would meet Jesus. cf. I.S., IVi, 169, 27.

Page 40 The same subject.

- 3–4 What Abû Dharr left behind in death.
- 5–7 Mohammed refused Abû Dharr's request for an emirship/imârah.
- 8–10 Mohammed missed Abû Dharr when he was absent.
- 11–14 Mohammed communicated to Abû Dharr all that which Gabriel and Michael instilled in his breast.
- 15–20 Mohammed gave Abû Dharr five commandments. cf. AbH, V, 3; 5; 7.

Page 41

- 1–3 Abû Dharr's honesty.
- 4–6 Abû Hurayrah.
- 7–9 Abû Dharr's submissiveness toward God.

- 10–14 Abû Dharr said to Mohammed that he would meet him in that condition in which he left him.
 15–19 Abû Dharr stored knowledge up.
 20–22 The Banû Ghifâr accompanied Abû Dharr before ‘Uthmân in Medina.

Page 42

- 1–2 Abû Dharr’s withdrawal to al-Rabadhah.
 3–5 Abû Dharr’s knowledge.
 6–7 The same subject.
 8–11 Abû Dharr was among Mohammed’s fourteen nobles.
 12–14 Mohammed loved ‘Alî; Abû Dharr; Salmân al-Fârsî and Miqdâd b. al-aswad, the original faction of ‘Alî.
 16–18 Mohammed exhorted Abû Dharr to be obedient.

Page 43

- 1–10 The same subject.
 11–15 Abû Dharr had no fear of abuse.
 16–22 There is neither might nor power save in God.

Page 44

- 1–8 The same subject.
 9–20 Pointing towards Syria Mohammed told Abû Dharr to flee from Mt. Sal’ when building[s] should encroach upon it. cf. I.S., IVi, 166, 2; Tab., I, 2860.
 20–22 Mohammed took Abû Dharr as pillion rider on his ass. cf. I.S., IVi, 167, 22.

Page 45

- 1–7 Mohammed’s seven commandments to Abû Dharr.
 8–13 The commander of the faithful forbade Abû Dharr to pronounce a fatwâ.
 14–17 Abû Dharr did not fear abuse.
 18–22 Abû Dharr threatened the hoarders at Medina with branding. cf. Bu, I, 356.

Page 46

- 1–14 The same subject.
 15–20 On returning from Damascus to Medina Abû Dharr recited surah, 102, 1 and threatened the hoarders with branding, cf. Bu, I, 369.

Page 47

- 1–6 see p. 46, 15–20.
 7–16 What ‘Abdurrahmân b. ‘Awf left behind.

17–21 Abû Dharr refused ‘Uthmân’s request to stay with him.

Page 48

1–2 Abû Dharr’s moderation.

3–8 see p. 47, 7–16.

9–17 The same subject.

Page 49

1–7 The same subject.

8–17 Mohammed describes the one nearest and dearest to him.

18–20 Abû Dharr distributed a gift of a thousand dinars that Mu‘âwiyah made to him.

Page 50

1–9 The same subject.

10–13 Abû Dharr heard from Mohammed a ḥadīth in which ‘shiddah’ occurs.

14–21 Mohammed told Abû Dharr to go the west to the Ḳudâ‘at tribe when he should see buildings encroaching on Mt. Sal‘. cf. p. 44, 9–20.

22–23 Mohammed exhorted Abû Dharr to be obedient.

Page 51

1–5 Abû Dharr was obedient. cf. I.S., IVi, 166, 17.

6–7 The same subject.

8–10 Abû Dharr said to ‘Uthmân: O commander of the faithful, open the door. Consider me not as one of those who forsake the faith/dīn as an arrow leaves the bow. cf. Ṭab., III, 2393.

11–19 Abû Dharr rejected the overtures of the rebels from Iraq.

20–21 Abû Dharr’s wife, Umm Dharr, said that ‘Uthmân did not send him away (i.e. to al-Rabadhah) but that Mohammed had told him to depart from Mt. Sal‘ when buildings/al-binâ should encroach on it.

Page 52

1 The same subject.

2–3 ‘Uthmân did not evict Abû Dharr.

4–7 Abû Dharr will sit next to Mohammed on the day of resurrection.

8–16 Abû Dharr reviled the muezzin Bilâl.

17–20 Abû Dharr’s black wife at al-Rabadhah.

Page 53

- 1-2 The same subject.
 3-6 Abû Dharr's stipend amounted to 4,000 dirham. Hoarded gold and silver used niggardly flare up against their possessor.
 7-10 Abû Dharr possessed thirty horses.
 11-14 Abû Dharr rebuked Abû 'l-Dardâ' because he built himself a house.
 15-19 Abû Dharr rejected the greetings of Abû Musâ al-Ash'arî.
 20-21 Abû Dharr's circumstances in al-Rabadhah.

Page 54

- 1-2 The same subject.
 3-4 Abû Dharr died leaving a daughter behind whom 'Uthmân received into his family.
 5-6 Abû Dharr died A.H. 32.
 9-11 Ibn Mas'ûd died some ten days after Abû Dharr.
 11-14 Mohammed loved Abû Dharr and exhorted him not to exercise authority over two and not to administrate the property of an orphan. cf. Ta'rikh, III, 15; AbH, V, p. 180, 12.
 15-20 Abû Dharr had two hundred and eighty one ḥadîth. (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal has recorded them all.)
 21-22 Abû Dharr passed away at al-Rabadhah.

Page 55

- 1-19 The same subject.

Page 56

- 1 The same subject.
 2-17 The same subject.
 18-20 Abû Dharr's hospitality.
 21 Abû Dharr performed the ritual prayer in the saddle.

Page 57

- 1-3 The same subject.

*al-Dhahabî-Ta'rikh al-Islam*¹

- p. 111, 7 Abû Dharr's name. Abû Dharr was the fifth Muslim.
 p. 111, 8 After his conversion he returned to the territory of his tribe and stayed there at Mohammed's behest. After the Hujrah he went to Medina.
 p. 111, 9 He was corpulent and had a dense beard.

- p. 111, 10 He was not at the battle of Badr—but ‘Umar appointed him a place among the Koran readers/qurrâ’. He was Ibn Mas‘ûd’s peer with regard to knowledge and faḍl.
- p. 111, 11 He was an ascetic. For God’s sake he feared not the abuse of him that reviled him.
- p. 111, 12 Mohammed said: Earth has not borne nor Heaven given shade to one more upright than Abû Dharr.
- p. 111, 14 ‘Alî said: Abû Dharr amassed knowledge which the people could not (grasp); then he was niggardly with it and brought nothing forth.
- p. 111, 15 Mohammed loved Abû Dharr. He exhorted Abû Dharr not to exercise authority over two nor to administrate the property of an orphan. cf. Siyar, 54, 11; AbĤ, V, 180, 12.
- p. 111, 17 ‘Alî said: To-day there remains no one apart from Abû Dharr who for God’s sake fears not the abuse of him that reviles him. cf. p. 111, 11.
- p. 111, 20 Abû Dharr was a straggler on the march against the christian Arabs of Tabûk A.H. 9. cf. b. Ishâk, p. 900.
- p. 112, 5 Abû Dharr died at al-Rabadhah. He had many virtues.
- p. 112, 12 Abû Dharr refused the greetings of Abû Musâ, after the same had become a governor (at Baṣrah under ‘Umar).
- p. 112, 4 Abû Dharr was brave.
- p. 112, 15 Description of Abû Dharr before Islam by Khufâf b. îmâ’ b. Raḥḍah.
- p. 112, 18 Abû Dharr said: Of that which the apostle of God instilled into my breast I gave nothing away unless I infused it into the breast of Mâlik b. Damrah. cf. Siyar, 40, 11.
- p. 113, 1 Abû Dharr’s knowledge. cf. 111, 14.
- p. 113, 2 God and Mohammed loved ‘Alî; Abû Dharr; Salmân al-Fârisî and Miḳdâd. AbĤ, V, 166, 1; Dha Siyar, 42, 8–14.
- p. 113, 6 Mohammed exhorted Abû Dharr to be obedient.
- p. 113, 13 The commander of the faithful (‘Uthmân) forbade Abû Dharr to pronounce a fatwâ.
- p. 113, 18 see 113, 18.
- p. 113, 19 al-Aḥnaf b. Qays saw Abû Dharr threatening hoarders (of superfluous goods) with branding in the presence of the Ḳuraysh at Medina. He saw no one answer him. (cf. al-Âlûsî.)

- p. 114, 3 Abû Dharr struck Ka'b al-aḥbâr in the matter of the goods left behind by 'Abd al-Raḥmân b. 'Awf, and claimed to have heard Mohammed say that if he had possessed a mass of gold like Mount Uhud he would have given it all in alms.
- p. 114, 8 Abû Dharr withdrew to al-Rabadhah in good spirits. At the time of this withdrawal he said that if 'Uthmân were to command him to walk on his head he would do so.
- p. 114, 12 In the same matter Abû Dharr said to 'Uthmân that if he were to order him to scrawl he would comply.
- p. 114, 14 Abû Dharr said to 'Uthmân: O commander of the faithful open the door. Count me not among those that leave the faith as fast as an arrow from the bow, i.e. the seceders/al-khawârij. (cf. Siyar, 51, 8) Tab., III, 2393.
- p. 114, 22 Abû Dharr's wife said: 'Uthmân did not send Abû Dharr away, i.e. to al-Rabadhah. But the apostle of God did say to him: When the buildings reach Sal' then depart thence. (cf. Tab., I, 2860 also Anṣâb al-ashrâf, 52, 15 and I.S., IVi, 166, 21—in all three passages these words are made to be spoken at his eviction from Damascus, cf. also Siyar, II, 44, 9—confused chronology!
- p. 115, 3 'Uthmân did not banish Abû Dharr.
- p. 115, 4 Abû Dharr's stipend (as Koran reciter) amounted to 4,000 Dirham. He said: There is neither gold nor silver, that used niggardly, doth not burn its possessor.
- p. 115, 7 Abû Dharr possessed thirty horses! (cf. Siyar, 53, 7).
- p. 115, 8 Abû Dharr rebuked Abû Dardâ because he built a house for himself. (Abû Dharr possessed a house in Egypt, cf. 'Abd al-ḥakam, p. 130, 8).
- p. 115, 10 see 112, 12.
- p. 115, 14 Abû Dharr fasted three days in every month, cf. AbḤ, V, 145, 29; 152, 16).

al-Karmî—al-Ḥayât al-rûḥîyah

- 21, 19 Comments on Abû Dharr's forthrightness.
- 24, 12 'Uthmân forbade anyone to speak to Abû Dharr or to accompany him on his being banished.
At 'Uthmân's behest Marwân b. al-Ḥakam led Abû Dharr out of Medina.
'Alî; 'Aḳîl; Ḥasan; Ḥusayn and 'Ammâr b. Yâsir accompanied

Abû Dharr in spite of 'Uthmân's prohibition.

al-Ḥasan spoke to Abû Dharr.

Marwân drew Ḥasan's attention to 'Uthmân's prohibition.

'Alî struck Marwân's camel with a whip.

Marwân reported the matter to 'Uthmân.

'Uthmân flew into a rage. (Kitâb al-saḵîfah by al-Jawharî).

24, 25 'Alî spoke to Abû Dharr.

25, 4 'Aḳîl spoke to Abû Dharr.

25, 6 al-Ḥasan spoke to Abû Dharr.

25, 9 al-Ḥusayn spoke to Abû Dharr.

25, 14 'Ammâr b. Yâsir spoke to Abû Dharr.

25, 19 Abû Dharr answered them in tears.

28, 3 Abû Dharr refused money sent to him by Mu'âwiyah.

28, 4 Abû Dharr rebuked Mu'âwiyah for building the palace al-khaḍrâ' at Damascus.

28, 7 Abû Dharr went about Damascus saying: By God, things are happening that I do not know. By God, this is neither in God's book nor in the sunnah of His prophet. By God, I see truth perish and falsehood flourish. I see the upright called a liar, and so forth. Thereupon Ḥabîb b. al-Maslamah told Mu'âwiyah that Abû Dharr was corrupting Damascus against him. cf. al-Balâdhurî, Ansâb al-ashraf.

28, 11 Abû Dharr daily annoyed Mu'âwiyah by preaching before his palace. Mu'âwiyah sent for him and called him the enemy of God and of His apostle. Abû Dharr retorted that not he but Mu'âwiyah and his father were God's enemies and so forth.

29, 5 Mu'âwiyah then wrote to 'Uthmân. 'Uthmân answered: Set Abû Dharr on the most uncomfortable mount, make things hard for him and send together with him someone to chase him day and night. This he did. On his arrival in Medina the flesh of Abû Dharr's thighs was lacerated. cf. al-Shushtarî, Majlis al-mu'minîn.

29, 11 'Uthmân let Abû Dharr choose the place of his banishment, refused his suggestion to withdraw to Mecca, Jerusalem or Egypt and stipulated al-Rabadhah.

29, 13 'Uthmân called Abû Dharr a slave/ḳayn.

29, 13 Abû Dharr quarrelled with 'Uthmân over an utterance ascribed to Mohammed concerning 'Uthmân's family.

30, 5 'Uthmân called Abû Dharr an agitator.

30, 12 Comments on 30, 5–30, 11.

- 30, 24 'Uthmân forbade anyone to sit by Abû Dharr and speak to him.
cf. I.S., IVi, 168, 19.
- 30, 25 'Uthmân refused Abû Dharr's suggestion to withdraw to Syria;
Iraq or Egypt and stipulated the desert with al-Rabadhah as the
limit.

al-Majlisî-Bihâr al-anwâr, Vol. III-XXIII

- III, 302 Abû Dharr was one of the seven elect.
- VII, 42 Abû Dharr preached before the Ka'bah, cf. VII, 426, VII,
409, VIII, 458.
- VIII, 323 Abû Dharr preached from Koran, IX, 34-5 after 'Uthmân
had given his cousin Marwân one fifth of the spoils taken in
the campaign in NW Africa, A.H. 27. He quarrelled with
Ka'b al-aḥbâr and reproached Mu'âwiyah for building al-
Khaḍrâ' in Damascus.
- VIII, 346 Abû Dharr advised 'Uthmân against his burning of extant
copies of the Koran on his recension of the same, A.H. 32
(but Abû Dharr died A.H. 31!)
'Alî defended Abû Dharr before 'Uthmân.
Abû Dharr quarrelled with Ka'b al-aḥbâr because of
'Uthmân's using the poor-rate/zakât to pay his civil servants.
cf. Bal, V, 52.
- VIII, 458 Abû Dharr preached before the Ka'bah.
- X, 61 Abû Dharr celebrated the ritual prayer at Fâṭimah's funeral
by order of 'Alî.
- X, 249 Abû Dharr pronounced a curse upon the murderers of
al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. (This makes Abû Dharr a prophet
because al-Ḥasan died, possibly of poisoning, ca A.H. 49,
while al-Ḥusayn was cut down at Karbalâ, A.H. 61.)
- XV, 29 Abû Dharr was not gladdened by the greater responsibility
that the increase of his flocks brought him.
- XV, 249 The two edges of the path on the Last Day are faithfulness
cf. XV, 35 and mercy which both must be equally maintained.
- XVII, 246 Abû Dharr preached before the Ka'bah.
- XVII, 247 Abû Dharr wept, moved by the fear of God.
- XVII, 248 Abû Dharr put various questions to Mohammed.
- XVII, 193 Abû Dharr told Mohammed that he would carry on with
the celebration of the ritual prayer even if a wolf were to
fall on his flock.

- XX, 31 Abû Dharr preached.
A greeting of two genuflexions is due to the Ka'bah. cf. XVII, 21.
- III, 293 Mohammed said that his community would reject 'Alî.
- IX, 144 Mohammed said: Heaven hath not given shade to, nor earth borne one more upright than Abû Dharr.
- XVII, 21 Mohammed said to Abû Dharr that a greeting of two genuflexions is due to the Ka'bah.
Mohammed said to Abû Dharr: Four of the prophets are Syrians and four Arabs. Moses is the first and Jesus the last of the Israelite prophets.
- XVII, 22 Mohammed gave Abû Dharr seven commandments.
- XVII, 23 Mohammed said to Abû Dharr, that his family ('Alî and Fâtimah and their children) resembled Noah's Ark.
Various sayings of the Prophet.
- XVII, 24 Various sayings of the Prophet, cf. pp. 25; 26; 27; 246; 247; 248; 249.

Wensinck, A. J. — A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition, p. 7

Abû Dharr, I.S., IVi, 161 sqq. Muhammad loves (him on Allâh's command) and praises him, Tir., 46, 35; I.M., Intro., b. 11, Abu Dharr and Salmân); I.S., IVi, 168; AbH, II, 163, 175, 223; V, 351, 356; VI, 442. His conversion, Bu, 61, 11; 63, 33; cf. 97, 23; Mu., 44, 132, 133; I.S., IVi, 161 sqq.; Tay., No. 458.

Abû Dharr is one of the monotheists in the djâhiliya, I.S., IVi, 163; cf. AbH, V, 174 sq.

Abû Dharr is exiled by 'Uthmân to Rabadha, I.S., IVi, 166 sq., 171, 173; cf. AbH, V, 159 bis, 165; I.H., 901; Waq., 395.

The (seven) precepts Muhammad gives him, I.S., IVi, 168 sq.; AbH, V, 159, 172, 173 bis, 174 sq.

Abû Dharr and Mu'âwiya, I.S., IVi, 168; AbH, V, 147.

His death, I.S., IVi, 171 sqq.; AbH, V, 155, 166; I.H., 901; Waq., 395.

We are indebted to Messrs. E. J. Brill of Leiden for the permission to copy the above.

Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî, a Companion of Mohammad. His name is commonly given as Djundub b. Djunâda, but other names are also mentioned. He is said to have worshipped one God before his conversion. When news of Mohammad reached him he sent his brother to Mecca to make enquiries, and being dissatisfied with his report, he went himself. One story says he met Mohammad with Abû Bakr at the Ka'ba, another that 'Alî took him secretly to Mohammad. He immediately believed, and is surprisingly claimed to have been the fifth (even the fourth) believer. He was sent home, where he stayed till he went to Medina after the battle of the Ditch (5/627). Later he lived in Syria till he was recalled by 'Uthmân because of a complaint against him by Mu'âwiya. He retired, or was sent, to al-Rabadha, where he died in 32/652–3, or 31. He was noted for humility and asceticism, in which respect he is said to have resembled Jesus. He was very religious and eager for knowledge, and is said to have matched Ibn Mas'ûd in religious learning. He is credited with 281 traditions of which al-Bukhârî and Muslim rendered 31 between them.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ârif* (Wüstenfeld) 130; Ya'qûbî, II, 138; al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûdj*, IV, 268–74; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istî'âb*, *Ḥaydarâbâd* 1336, 82f., 645f.; Ibn al-Athîr, *Usd*, V, 186–8; Nawâwî, *Tahdhîb al-Asmâ'* (Wüstenfeld) 714f.; al-Dhahabî, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffâz*, I, 17f.; Ibn Ḥadjr, *Iṣâba*, Cairo 1358/1939, IV, 63ff.; *Tahdhîb al-Tahdhîb*, XII, 90f.; Wensinck, *Handbook*, 7 (add Ibn Sa'd II/ii, 112); A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, I, 454ff.

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